

CLINTON & IRAQ: UNDER ATTACK

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R

'Severe' Damage as Allies Again Hit Baghdad

'Absolutely the Right Thing to Do,' President Says

By Brian Knowlton
International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — Just hours before U.S. and British forces launched a second wave of air attacks on Iraq, President Bill Clinton said Thursday that the decision to attack was "absolutely the right thing to do."

Mr. Clinton received a powerful endorsement from Prime Minister Tony Blair of Britain. He said that for the U.S. president to have delayed attacking because the House had been scheduled to debate his impeachment Thursday would have been a "dereliction of his duty."

The first round of cruise missile and bomber attacks, launched shortly after midnight Baghdad time, inflicted "very severe" damage, Defense Secretary William Cohen said Thursday. He said all targets were military or intelligence-related.

Iraq denounced the attack as a "crime against international law" and said dozens of civilians had been killed or wounded.

In the second wave, which began around 10 P.M. Baghdad time Thursday, U.S. and British forces targeted the

Iraqi air defense system, airfields, and military aircraft, some of them in reinforced concrete hangars.

Cruise missiles were launched again from navy ships, and air force B-52 bombers flew from Diego Garcia Island in the Indian Ocean to launch others. F-18 fighters, based on the carrier Enterprise, released laser-guided bombs, a military official said.

Twelve British Tornados returned unharmed from a bombing sortie to their base in Kuwait, a Royal Air Force spokesman told Reuters.

The military undertaking, ordered out of frustration with Iraq's obstruction of UN arms inspectors, is the largest by U.S. forces since Mr. Clinton took office. It came a month after he had ordered, then suspended, an earlier attack following an 11th-hour vow of cooperation from Baghdad.

Mr. Clinton, bitterly accused by some Republicans of launching the attack to divert attention from impeachment proceedings, said "it would have been a disaster" if the United States had failed to act. That, he said from the White House, would have left Iraq free to develop weapons of mass destruction unconstrained by any meaningful United

Nations arms inspection program. Mr. Clinton spoke by telephone Thursday to the leaders of Egypt, Jordan and France to seek their support. Following other calls Wednesday, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright said she had spoken to the heads of at least 20 countries.

Russia and China harshly criticized the use of force against Iraq. In Moscow, the State Duma, the lower house of Parliament, passed a resolution calling the air strikes "international terrorism."

In a televised news conference from Baghdad, Foreign Minister Mohammed Said Sahhaf said that American and British officials who claimed Iraq had not complied with UN resolutions were "liars."

Mr. Sahhaf said the early morning cruise missile attacks had caused "heavy casualties and collateral damage."

He said missiles had hit the security police and military intelligence headquarters buildings in Baghdad, but gave no details of damage or casualties.

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An Iraqi walking through debris left after a U.S. raid hit Tikrit, President Saddam's hometown, near Baghdad.

Impeachment Debate Set

By Peter Baker
and Juliet Elperin
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — After a 24-hour pause while missiles rained onto Iraq, House Republicans and Democrats engaged in a furious clash Thursday over whether to proceed with impeachment proceedings while air strikes ordered by President Bill Clinton continued.

The speaker-designate, Representative Bob Livingston, Republican of Louisiana, had postponed the impeachment showdown scheduled for Thursday morning out of reluctance to send a message that might be seen as undercutting the military.

But amid deep Republican skepticism about Mr. Clinton's motives, Mr.

Livingston was unwilling to wait long and decided to bring the four articles of impeachment to the floor Friday morning for a lengthy debate and vote on Saturday.

Angry Democrats, however, used procedural maneuvers to block Mr. Livingston's plans for the debate, complaining that it would be un-American to impeach the commander in chief with troops in the field.

The two-day debate schedule outlined by Mr. Livingston requires unanimous consent to waive the rules, which Democrats refused to give. As a result, Republicans said they would go ahead with the debate on Friday morning, but under the ordinary rules that allow only a single hour of debate and do not need consent of the minority.

"This is a terribly unpopular measure and no one wants to deal with impeachment, but it is before us and we must deal with it," Mr. Livingston said on the floor, noting that impeachment proceedings went forward against President Richard Nixon during the Vietnam War. "There's no way to know when the troops will have completed their mission."

"We cannot refrain from advancing the people's business," he said.

The House minority leader, Representative Dick Gephardt, Democrat of Missouri, said he was worried about the morale of the 24,000 U.S. soldiers, pilots and sailors engaged in hostile action. "I want them to see nothing from us but

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The Reservoir of Credibility Runs Dry

Clinton's Motives in Bombing Publicly Challenged in Congress

By R.W. Apple Jr.
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Suddenly, it became startlingly clear how much the long months of evasion and legalisms, how much his enemies' unceasing denunciations of him as a liar, have cost Bill Clinton and the nation.

Gripped by crisis on two fronts, in Congress and the Middle East, the president came face to face with the stinging reality that his credibility is crumbling, especially but not exclusively among Republicans on Capitol Hill. Some sober, experienced leaders no longer take him at his word. It is a situation he must remedy, and quickly, but it is not clear he can do so.

On a day of truly explosive drama in this politically punch-drunk capital, two of the long-running conflicts of these final years of the old millennium col-

lided Wednesday with a bang: the Western allies' struggle to contain and disarm the resilient President Saddam Hussein of Iraq and Mr. Clinton's struggle to govern effectively in the face of the assaults of his political foes.

Senator Trent Lott, Republican of Mississippi, the majority leader, went so far as to publicly question Mr. Clinton's motives in or-

dering attacks on Iraq — a violation of Washington's long-standing political code. You don't criticize the president, that code says, when U.S. forces stand in harm's way.

Norman Schwarzkopf, the retired general who commanded U.S. troops in the Gulf War in 1991, joined prominent Democrats in firing back. He said on NBC, "By golly, troops are committed, and we can't have people second-guessing the way they did in Vietnam."

Some Republicans were a bit more cautious. The incoming House speaker, Representative Bob Livingston of Louisiana, said he would leave questions of presidential motive and timing to the American people.

But he pointedly said several times that he supported "the troops," without saying he supported the president.

This was the climax, in a way, of years of deterioration in this city's political civility. The habit of refusing to give one's adversaries the benefit of the doubt, of viewing them as enemies rather than opponents, increasingly ingrained in the congressional culture, has now seized a beachhead in foreign-policy debate.

As the hours passed, on the eve of the scheduled start of the House's first impeachment debate in 130 years, one

See FOES, Page 4



Mr. Clinton with Vice President Al Gore in the Oval Office on Thursday.

World Reaction: Mostly on the Cool Side

• Reaction to the attacks ranged from anger, to skepticism in France, to support shaded with regret from European allies. Page 4. • Blair defends Clinton's timing. Page 4. • In the West Bank, Clinton's honeymoon is over. Page 5. • Inspectors believe Iraq is hiding a huge stockpile of deadly germs. Page 2. • Will strikes reach their ultimate goal? Page 2.

Life Goes On In Baghdad, With School And Nuptials

By Howard Schneider
Washington Post Service

BAGHDAD — American and British bombs rocked Iraq's 700-year-old capital on Thursday as the second wave of a joint air campaign swept across the country with the aim of finishing the work that United Nations weapons inspectors say they have been prevented from doing.

After missions earlier in the evening in the south of Iraq, Operation Desert Fox began concentrating on sights around Baghdad, a cradle of Islamic civilization after its founding and today the political heart of President Saddam Hussein's government.

Brilliant red tracer rounds from Iraqi anti-aircraft batteries lit the sky around 10 P.M., followed by a series of explosions. A few minutes later, a large explosion occurred near an area that includes several public monuments and buildings, followed by a shock wave that carried several hundred meters.

The explosions continued to around 10:30 P.M., then paused for more than an hour.

Iraqi officials were saying late Thursday night that at least one hospital had been damaged in the raid.

The explosions came after what had been a day of relative normalcy in Baghdad, despite the night bombing early Thursday on the city's outskirts.

Traffic along main city thoroughfares was lighter than usual for a weekend night, though by sundown carloads of newlyweds rode honking through the

See BAGHDAD, Page 4

Retreating From Reform, China Tries 2 Dissidents

By Michael Laris
Washington Post Service

BEIJING — China put two prominent dissidents on trial Thursday in two cities in a move to suppress a six-month-long campaign to inaugurate the country's first opposition party.

The trials of Wang Youcai and Qin Yongmin, both charged with "inciting the overthrow of state power," were intended as a blunt reminder that the

Communist Party will brook no challenges to its rule.

Mr. Wang, tried in the eastern city of Hangzhou, and Mr. Qin, tried in the central city of Wuhan, were forced to represent themselves in court because the authorities detained and intimidated their lawyers, family members said.

The trials appeared to represent a step backward for China's efforts at legal reform and raised questions about how the government views its obligations under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Beijing signed the charter, which guarantees freedom of expression and association, in October.

Last year, criminal defendants in even the most heinous murder cases were given the right to some form of legal representation when China put a new criminal procedure law into effect. By apparently violating the law Thursday, Communist Party authorities sent a message that the new rules do not apply to dissidents.

It is unclear whether the crackdown against the China Democratic Party is

AGENDA

Students Wounded in Jakarta Clashes

Scores of students were wounded by rubber bullets in clashes Thursday with Indonesian security forces in Jakarta. The violence came just hours after President B.J. Habibie warned that unrest could lead to the "disintegration of the nation." Page 7.

Paris Strikers Block Trains to London

PARIS (Reuters) — Maintenance workers blocked passenger train traffic at the Gare du Nord in Paris on Thursday, halting high-speed trains to London and Brussels, management of the state railway company SNCF said.

Union officials said the maintenance workers walked off their jobs after learning of management plans to eliminate positions.

Web Shopping Boom

American consumers are changing their holiday shopping habits and, with just one week until Christmas, are making on-line purchases at levels that have surpassed estimates. Page 15.

The Dollar			
	Thursday 4 P.M.	previous close	
New York	1.5675	1.5681	
DM	1.5675	1.5681	
Yen	116.25	116.565	
FF	5.5925	5.5852	
Pound	1.6733	1.685	
The Dow			
	Thursday close	percent change	
	8,575.82	+0.97%	
S&P 500			
	1,179.96	+1.55%	
Nasdaq			
	2,043.89	+1.72%	

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Crossword	Page 24.
Opinion	Pages 8-9.
Sports	Pages 24-25.
Sponsored Section	Pages 12-13.
THURSDAY	
The Internet	Page 14.
The IHT online	www.ihl.com

Law Lords Give Pinochet A 2d Chance at Immunity

By Warren Hoge
New York Times Service

LONDON — In a step lifting General Augusto Pinochet's hopes of escaping extradition to Spain and returning home to Chile, the House of Lords on Thursday set aside its decision last month denying him immunity from arrest.

The Lords scheduled a new hearing a month from now, and if the former Chilean dictator succeeds in convincing a new five-judge panel of his claim to immunity, he will be free to leave. Before Thursday's decision, the 83-year-old general had faced the certainty of an extended stay in custody in England while his case proceeded through motions and appeals that could stretch on for more than a year.

The decision represented the first time in the history of the Law Lords, England's highest court, that a verdict had even been reviewed, much less rejected. A five-judge panel set up for the purpose heard arguments Tuesday and Wednesday, and Lord Browne-Wilkinson, the chief Law Lord, announced their unanimous verdict on the floor of the ornate upper chamber Thursday morning.

While he said the judges had not had time to compose their opinions and would make them public only in January, there was no doubt that they had accepted arguments from General Pinochet's lawyers that last month's three-to-two verdict was tainted by bias.

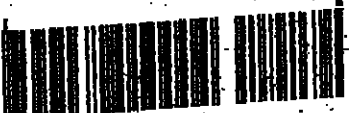
The attorneys' sole point in pressing the unprecedented appeal had been that Lord Hoffmann, the judge who cast the decisive vote, had erred in not declaring his association with Amnesty International, an active participant in the case. The group had been given rarely extended permission to make its own case alongside British prosecutors against General Pinochet during the six days of hearings.

Lord Hoffmann, it had emerged, has been a director and chairman of a principal Amnesty International charity since 1990, and his wife, Lillian, has worked in the press and publications office of the human rights group since 1977.

Clare Montgomery, General Pinochet's lead trial lawyer, told the panel of Law Lords on Tuesday, "What judges must not do once they have accepted a

See PINOCHET, Page 5

Newstand Prices	
Andorra	10.00 FF
Aruba	12.50 FF
Cameroon	1.600 CFA
Egypt	2E 5.50
France	10.00 FF
Gabon	1.100 CFA
Ghana	3.000 Lira
Italy	1.250 JD
Jordan	1.250 JD
Kuwait	700 Fils
Lebanon	11.300
Morocco	18 DH
Oman	10.00 QR
Qatar	12.50 FF
Reunion	10 SR
Saudi Arabia	1.100 CFA
Senegal	250 Ptas
Spain	1.250 Dir
Tunisia	10.00 Dh
U.A.E.	10.00 Dh
U.S. (Eur.)	\$1.20



See CHINA, Page 5

THE AMERICAS

In Congress, Anger Radiating in All Directions

By Guy Gugliotta
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — It was like throwing gasoline on a fire. The impeachment of President Bill Clinton had already turned the House into the partisan equivalent of an armed camp, but when the bombing of Iraq began, tempers exploded.

Republican House members, virtually certain they had the votes to impeach Mr. Clinton on at least one and possibly two counts of perjury, trooped to the Capitol's basement late Wednesday to hear from their leaders why they should postpone — why they would have to postpone — the impeachment debate.

An hour later the Democrats held their own meeting. Their plan was to remind the Republicans and the public during the impeachment debate scheduled Thursday that the Republicans had refused to countenance a censure proposal, when censure was the nation's preferred option.

"Our people are more than upset," said a leadership source. "This is farcical."

There were "some divisions in the conference," Representative Jim Leach, Republican of Iowa, acknowledged. Members lined up to state their views as the hours dragged by.

At the Democrats' meeting, Representative Edward Markey of Massachusetts talked about a rally at Harvard University on Tuesday night where speakers ripped impeachment for hours.

"People were trying to crawl in under the door," Mr. Markey said.

Representative Mark Edward Speder, Republican of Indiana, the only conservative Republican opposed to impeachment, said at his party's meeting that he was ripped to bits in Fort Wayne for weeks.

"I went to Russia for eight days, but they even tracked me down there." He spoke of "having to change my donor base" because of the fury of some constituents.

A Judiciary Committee member, Representative William Delahunt, Democrat of Massachusetts, who had done weeks of hard time in the impeachment trenches, said: "Whatever transpires would not come as a shock to me."

"Imagine being a bit player on the stage of the theater of the absurd," he added.

'Whatever transpires would not come as a shock to me. Imagine being a bit player on the stage of the theater of the absurd. How would you feel?'

added. "How would you feel?"

Not good. Nerves began to fray in the early afternoon when news started to waft through the halls of the Capitol that the bombing of Iraq was set for 5 P.M., the same time that the House Republicans started their meeting. Rumors circulated of a deal to postpone debate.

An anguished Representative John Cooksey, Republican of Louisiana, phoned a reporter shortly after noon to suggest that the bombing "just isn't a good thing to do." Mr. Clinton and President Saddam Hussein of Iraq "are two guys who are altering their political careers by using their armed forces, and misusing them in my view," Mr. Cooksey said. "Anyone who misleads cannot lead."

Did that apply just to Mr. Saddam or did...

"I didn't say that." But the Rules Committee chairman, Representative Gerald Solomon, Republican of New York, did.

"Never underestimate a desperate president," he said in a news release a few hours later. "What option is left for getting impeachment off the front page and maybe even postponed?"

None, he soon concluded in a blistering attack on Mr. Clinton during a CNN interview: "We should not be handling the impeachment while he is bombing Iraq and that's exactly the reason he's doing it."

The White House responded almost immediately with an unvarnished broadside of its own.

The leadership of the speaker-designate, Representative Bob Livingston, Republican of Louisiana, was called into question, even before he took the gavel. He had pledged to reach out to Democrats, but the minority party was steaming over his refusal to countenance a censure resolution. "We can't believe we're at this stage without censure, and the Democrats are going to fight," Mr. Markey said. "They used to say the GOP was the Grand Old Party. I call them Get Our President."

■ Cohen for the Defense

The White House sent the most prominent Republican in the Clinton administration — William Cohen, the secretary of defense — to offer personal testimony to the integrity of the attack from the well of the House of Representatives. The New York Times reported.

For slightly more than 90 minutes, Mr. Cohen spoke to a closed gathering of lawmakers. He offered a detailed accounting of the decision to attack and asked for bipartisan support of the action.

He appeared with the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Henry Shelton, and the director of central intelligence, George Tenet, at the invi-

tation of Newt Gingrich, the departing House speaker. Unlike some of his colleagues, Mr. Gingrich was notably restrained in his reaction to the raid.

The meeting was described as a generally civil and orderly until Representative Tom DeLay, Republican of Texas, the combative House majority whip, startled his colleagues and Mr. Cohen by demanding to know whether he believed that national security would be endangered if the House were to proceed on Thursday with a vote on the impeachment resolutions.

Mr. Cohen at first declined to answer, according to officials who were present, saying that such a decision should be left to the House.

Mr. DeLay pressed the question, and Mr. Cohen responded with a plea for support.

"It's been the tradition throughout history that when we have people out there with the risk of dying, it's good to have good bipartisan support," Mr. Cohen said, according to a witness.

The remark was greeted by applause from throughout the chamber, said one of those present.

Mr. Cohen continued: "Unity and bipartisan support is important for the morale of the troops."



Bob Livingston, the speaker-designate, discussing the bombing of Iraq.

BRIEFLY

Tycoon Denies Funding Plot

WASHINGTON — The conservative billionaire Richard Mellon Scaife says President Bill Clinton is "an embarrassment" but denies that Scaife money helps support a rightist conspiracy to hurt the president.

"I just want the truth to come out about Whitewater," the exclusive Pittsburgh philanthropist told John F. Kennedy Jr., the editor of George magazine, in a rare interview.

"I think there's been a massive cover-up about what Bill Clinton's administration has been doing, and what he was doing when he was governor of Arkansas," said Mr. Scaife, who funds many anti-Clinton groups.

Saying Mr. Clinton "can order people done away with at his will," Mr. Scaife suggested that the president might be linked to the deaths of dozens of administration officials and associates, including the White House aide Vince Foster, whose death was determined to be a suicide by investigators, and former Commerce Secretary Ron Brown, who died in a plane crash.

The 66-year-old heir to the Mellon oil and banking fortune also had harsh words for the independent counsel Kenneth Starr, whose investigation led to the inquiry of Monica Lewinsky and the specter of impeachment now threatening Mr. Clinton's presidency.

"Four years and \$40 million later, we haven't gotten anything," Mr. Scaife said. "Maybe Ken Starr is a mole working for the Democrats."

Mr. Scaife controls several foundations that have given millions of dollars to organizations run by critics of Mr. Clinton. That money included \$1.7 million for a project at the conservative American Spectator magazine to dig up information about Mr. Clinton's role in the Whitewater real

estate deal. Mr. Scaife's money also helped fund a chair at Pepperdine University that was to go to Mr. Starr, but the prosecutor later turned down the job. (AP)

Americans Expect a 'Yes' Vote

Most Americans now expect that the House of Representatives will vote to impeach President Bill Clinton even though a majority of the public prefers that Mr. Clinton be censured and not forced to face an impeachment trial in the Senate, according to the latest Washington Post-ABC News poll, released late Wednesday.

Two out of three Americans now believe the House will vote to impeach Mr. Clinton. But six in 10 also expect that Mr. Clinton would prevail in the Senate and not be removed from office, according to the Post-ABC News poll.

A total of 759 randomly selected adults were interviewed Tuesday for this national poll. The margin of sampling error for the overall results is plus or minus 4 percentage points.

The survey and a flurry of other polls released in the past two days suggest that many Americans would prefer that Mr. Clinton resign rather than put the country through a protracted battle in the Senate. (WP)

Quote/Unquote

Representative Gerald Solomon, Republican of New York and chairman of the House Rules Committee, as President Bill Clinton ordered an attack on Iraq on the eve of the impeachment debate: "It is obvious that he is doing this for political reasons, and I and others are outraged. They deliberately ignored the Congress." (NYT)

New Hope for Reversing Heart Disease

Vegetarian Diet, Yoga and Walking Found Better Than Drug Therapy

By Sally Squires
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — People with heart disease who eat a very low-fat vegetarian diet, exercise religiously, practice stress reduction daily, meditate and avoid smoking can significantly reduce blockages in their arteries without the need for drugs, according to researchers.

Doctors have debated for more than a decade whether moderate to severe heart disease can be reversed by lifestyle changes alone. Several dozen studies have clearly shown that cholesterol-lowering drugs can significantly reduce blockages and reverse heart disease. But these medications are costly and can have side effects.

A new study involving 48 patients published Wednesday in the Journal of the American Medical Association found that an austere lifestyle regimen can significantly reduce blockages with-

out the use of drugs, allowing patients to avoid balloon angioplasty and bypass surgery.

The study "tells us that the longer you participate and the longer you adhere to this kind of program, the healthier you will be," said Peter Kaufmann of the National Heart, Lung and Blood Institute.

The study compared a program designed by the cardiologist Dean Ornish with a diet recommended by the American Heart Association. All participants had moderate to severe heart disease. Twenty-eight people agreed to follow the Ornish program, while 20 patients followed the demanding but less rigid American Heart Association diet.

The Ornish program, which has been featured in a best-selling book and is now offered in 15 hospital programs as well as at Dr. Ornish's nonprofit Preventive Medicine Research Institute in Sausalito, California, requires patients to eat a vegetarian diet that contains 10

percent or fewer calories from fat and 10 milligrams or less of cholesterol per day.

By comparison, the average American diet has about 35 percent of total calories as fat. The American Heart Association diet contains about 30 percent of calories as fat and limits the amount of saturated fat to 7 percent or less of total calories.

People in the Ornish program also engage in an hour a day of yoga and meditation, a half-hour of walking, and agree to give up smoking.

Twenty of the participants on the Ornish program completed the five-year study, compared with 15 of the patients on the American Heart Association diet. Blockages improved by nearly 5 percent among those on the Ornish program after one year and showed about an 8 percent improvement after five years. In contrast, blockages among patients on the American Heart Association program became 5 percent worse dur-

ing the first year and were 28 percent more advanced after five years, the study found.

Heart attacks, the need for angioplasty, bypass surgery, hospitalization for heart disease and cardiac-related deaths were nearly twice as common in the American Heart Association group than in the group following the Ornish regimen.

Judge Cites Police Racism in Motorist Arrests

New York Times Service

BOSTON — In a case believed to be the first of its kind, a federal judge in Boston, sentencing a black man for gun possession, reduced the sentence because his long arrest record, she said, reflected a tendency by the police to stop black motorists more often.

Local and state police forces in several states have been accused of pulling over black motorists for no apparent reason.

The judge, Nancy Gertner of U.S. District Court, said the preponderance of minor traffic offenses on the man's arrest record raised "deep concerns about racial disparity."

Away From Politics

Eight companies and 56 individuals were indicted in the theft and resale of more than \$5 million worth of cargo at Kennedy International Airport. The prosecutor said the probe started in 1996 when two employees of BAX Global were arrested for stealing four laptop computers from the company's warehouse at JFK. Investigators looked into past thefts there and at other air freight companies and discovered a fencing operation headed by a man from his New York home. (AP)

A Kentucky teenager was sentenced to life in prison for a high school shooting rampage last year that killed three people and wounded five. Michael Carneal, 15, who pleaded guilty but mentally ill in October, will be eligible for parole in 25 years. He opened fire on Dec. 1, 1997, on students taking part in a morning prayer meeting at Heath High School in West Paducah, Kentucky. (Reuters)

Screening people for lung cancer, which is not now routinely done, could save lives, researchers said. A Finnish study published in the journal Chest found that men whose lung cancer was found through chest X-ray screening were almost twice as likely to survive as men whose lung cancer was found by other means. (Reuters)

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ART BUCHWALD

Lessons Learned

NEW YORK — The bottom line of President Bill Clinton's impeachment problem is sex. We can't escape it. Even The New York Times talks about it. The airwaves are full of it, and lately it has been the subject of rancorous debate in the House of Representatives.

The reason Americans are paying any attention at all to the story is that they can understand sex, but they can't understand Iraq. They are hard put to fathom the economic recession in the Far East, but they're very



Buchwald

much at home discussing adultery in a bar.

If the president has any faults, and I'm not saying he does, it is in the area of candor. He did something he shouldn't have, which is O.K., but then he lied about it. All of us do things we shouldn't, but all of us are not president of the United States.

So, as far as the Republicans are concerned, it is not

the act but the denial that requires punishment. The problem is that the majority of the people don't want to lose their leader over an affair with an intern—at least not while the price of heating oil is the lowest it's been in a long time.

At the same time, lying about adultery is a serious crime—in the same class with hitting a Coke machine to see if any coins will spill out. We can't let the president off scot-free. He has offered to be censured and flogged 10 times by Attorney General Janet Reno at Camp David. But for the Republicans it is not enough.

Here are some other punishments that have been suggested:

• Have Dr. Kevorkian give him a physical examination.

• Attach a steel cuff to his ankle so we'll know where he is at all times.

• Make him apologize to the People's Republic of China in Mandarin.

After this dark nightmare is over, we will have to decide what we really have learned from the scandal.

Monroe Letter

Sells for \$43,000

Agence France-Presse

NEW YORK — A letter written by a 16-year-old Norma Jean Baker, who became the movie star Marilyn Monroe, was sold Tuesday at Sotheby's in New York for \$43,125.

In the five-page letter dated Feb. 16, 1943—to her guardian and friend Grace McKee Gaddard—the teenager describes her anxiety at the prospect of meeting her father for the first time. The meeting apparently never took place.

What we have learned is that if you commit an indiscreet act, gladly admit to it if there are tapes to prove it.

Don't trust people who say that stories about sex bore them. They are lying.

When a sex story breaks, you should be very careful wrapping fish in your newspaper.

Women are not always victims in a sexual situation. Sometimes they are the ones who ask you to RSVP.

The conventional wisdom is that sex is too serious to be left to Congress.

A Turkish Novelist Spurns the State's Honors

By Stephen Kinzer
New York Times Service

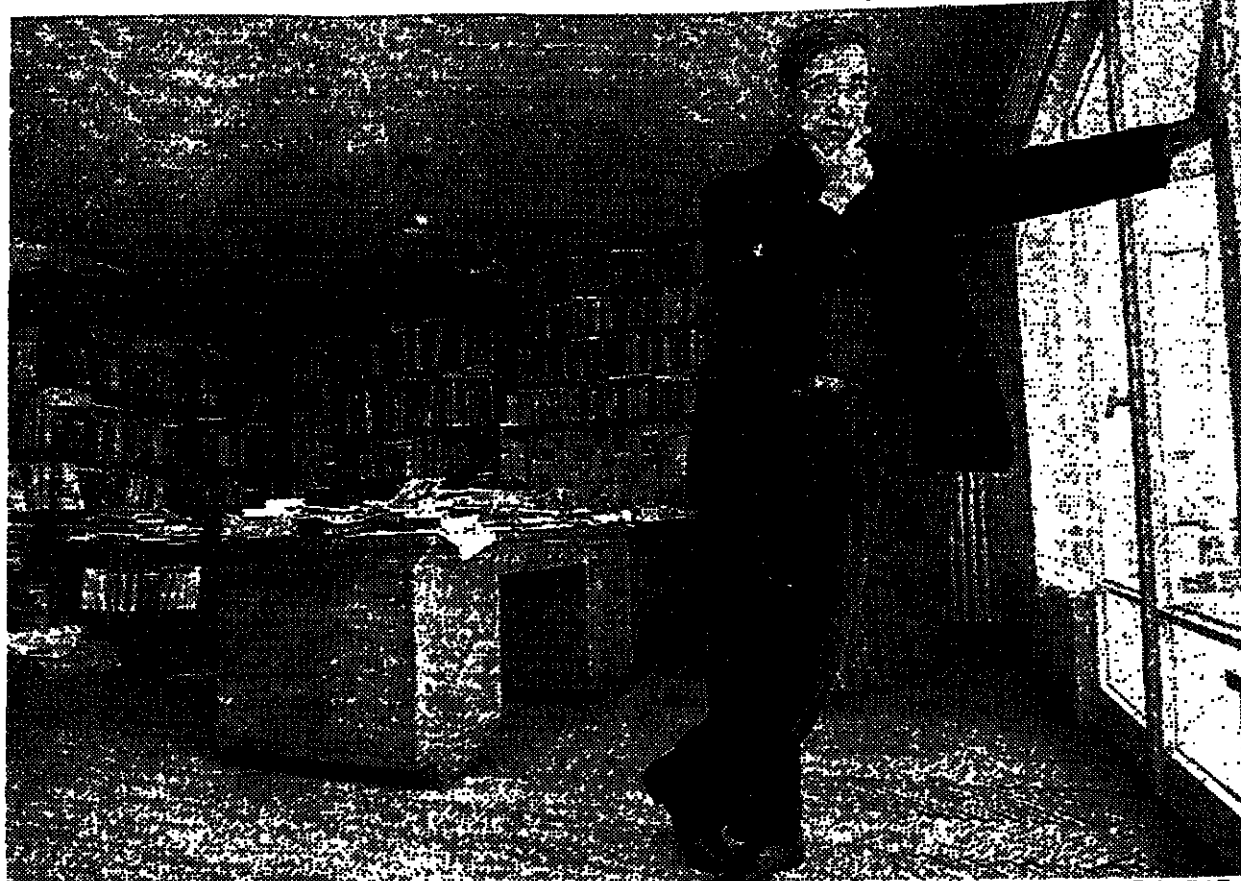
ISTANBUL — Turkey's most prominent young novelist, Orhan Pamuk, has turned down the coveted title of "state artist" awarded to him this month. He said that if he accepted it, he could not "look in the face of people I care about."

Pamuk is one of 85 writers, actors, singers and other cultural figures who were chosen for the honor by President Suleyman Demirel. Several declined, saying they disapproved of the selection process or did not want to be associated with some others on the list. But Pamuk was the only one who said he was doing so for political reasons.

"For years I have been criticizing this society for its approach to the Kurdish problem, for its failure to move toward real democracy, for its violations of human rights and banning of books," Pamuk said in an interview. "Intellectuals, pro-Kurdish writers and even fundamentalists are in jail for writing books or articles. I thought this was a good time to separate myself from this happy public, which lacks a sense of self-criticism and immerses itself in crazy nationalism."

Pamuk, 46, spoke on the eve of publication of his latest book, which is expected to be a best-seller here. The first printing of 50,000 copies, the largest ever for a Turkish novel, is being shipped to bookstores. He said he did not expect his refusal of the prize to hurt his standing here.

"I say no, and they respect that, even in the popular newspapers," he said. "In a sense, they even like it. The only thing that upsets them



Orhan Pamuk in his study overlooking the Bosphorus in Istanbul: "There is a moral issue here."

is that I talk to foreign journalists who, in their words, 'distort our reality.'"

"There is a moral issue here," he added. "This state does not have clean hands. If you accepted a prize from the White House during the Vietnam War, that would of course have political implications. This is a similar situation."

The title of state artist has been awarded sparingly in the past. Only 64 people have received it over the last quarter-century. The sudden announcement of such a large group of recipients this year may have been tied to Demirel's desire to broaden his popularity as elections approach.

In recent days, many newspapers and television stations have presented interviews with Pamuk. They concentrated on his new book, but he is regularly asked about his decision to reject Demirel's award. His frank comments, often including the names of Turks he believes are unjustly imprisoned, have brought the issues of free speech and democratic rights to a broad audience.

Many of the artists Demirel chose to honor are pop singers and others whose mass appeal exceeds their intellectual contributions. But several serious artists, including some who are strongly critical of Turkish society, were also included

and have decided to accept. Their decisions reflect the conflicts that artists in many countries face when deciding how to deal with governments of which they do not fully approve.

"I have always been at odds with the Turkish state," said one of the winners, Ali Poyrazoglu, an actor and director known for his unconventional life style and political views. "I've been banned, I've been beaten up and I've suffered at the hands of this state. Now, for the first time, the state extends a friendly hand to me. I'm certainly going to shake that hand."

Those who refuse the prize are not showing any real or radical

rebellion," said Poyrazoglu, who recently appeared in the New York production of the play "Pera Pallas." "States are the same all over the world. They are oppressive by their nature, and artists are always opposed to this. So why do people who jump to take prizes from a country like Germany say no to the Turkish one?"

Although the state artist title carries considerable prestige, it has no monetary value except to artists who are already employed by the state. They normally receive salary increases upon winning.

Pamuk, 46, is one of two Turkish novelists whose works have been widely translated and have won worldwide acclaim. The other, Yasunari Kawai, an outspoken advocate of the Kurdish cause whose works depict the exploitation of peasants at the hands of brutal landowners, was named a state artist several years ago and also refused the honor.

Turkey's military has been struggling for 14 years to crush a separatist rebellion by Kurds in the south-eastern region of the country.

In an interview in his book-lined study overlooking the Bosphorus, Pamuk said he hoped the controversy over his refusal of the prize would not overshadow the appearance of his new book, "Call Me Crimson." It tells the story of a 16th-century widow who searches for a new husband among the miniaturists and illuminators of the Ottoman court. An English translation is to be published by Knopf next year.

"The book is going to be very much talked about," Pamuk said. "And I don't want that discussion to be damaged or limited in any way by this really tasteless debate."

PEOPLE



WELCOME BACK — The Niobe Room of the Uffizi Gallery in Florence was reopened Wednesday, the latest room in the museum to be restored after a car bomb exploded outside the Uffizi in May 1993.

A FEDERAL court jury in New York City denied a claim by another composer that Andrew Lloyd Webber had stolen a musical passage for use in "The Phantom of the Opera." The jury had been asked to decide whether Lloyd Webber used a section of a 1978 song by Ray Repp, a composer of religious folk music, in the main theme of "Phantom." For Repp, the verdict was the end of a long legal battle that began after he first heard the "Phantom" theme in 1989. Saying he was struck by the theme's similarity to his ballad "Till You," Repp filed a copyright infringement lawsuit a year later. After eight years of legal machinations, Repp was granted a jury trial in January by a federal appeals court. "I have no doubt whatsoever that's my song," said Repp, who has 11 albums to his credit. Lloyd Webber testified that he had actually lifted the "Phantom Song" from one of his own compositions. "Close Any Door."

Shoshanna Lonstein says she and Jerry Seinfeld broke up because he

worked too hard and she played too much. Seinfeld "worked 24 hours a day, seven days a week," Lonstein told Details magazine. "And I wanted to run around and play." Now 23, Lonstein was only 16 when she met the comedian in 1992. She enrolled at the University of California, Los Angeles, to be near him while he was filming the "Seinfeld" TV series, but they broke up in 1997. "I'm happy I got to have the

relationship, but L.A. was a really lonely existence for me," Lonstein said.

A Mexican Army officer's diary that defies the popular American legend of Davy Crockett's death at the Alamo is being donated to the University of Texas, which tried but failed to buy the controversial papers last month. The memoir, purportedly an eyewitness account

written by Lieutenant Colonel Jose Enrique de la Pena, says Crockett was captured and executed March 6, 1836, along with others who had been defending the Alamo in their fight for independence from Mexico. Pena's account defies the traditional story, that Crockett valiantly fought Mexican troops to the end of the 13-day siege, wounding his long-nile, Betsy, like a club before he fell. The diary, which had been at the library at the University of Texas at San Antonio, was sold at an auction last month to two unidentified Texans—who turned out to be University of Texas alumni, Charles W. Tate and Thomas O. Hicks—who paid \$350,000 for it and related documents.

Arnold Schwarzenegger is in talks to reprise his role in a third installment of the "Terminator," and James Cameron, the director of "Titanic" is planning to write and produce the movie, but not direct, Daily Variety says. Cameron directed the first two "Terminator" movies.

McCartney Seeks Return of Beatles Lyrics

The Associated Press

GOSHEN, New York — Paul McCartney contends that the original handwritten lyrics to the Beatles' song "Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band" that a collector offered to sell him in August were stolen from his London home in late 1967 or early 1968.

McCartney wants the lyrics returned and filed a "show cause" order in state Supreme Court in Goshen last month demanding that one collector reveal the name of another, who now has the lyric sheet.

A photocopy of what appeared to be the lyric sheet was sent to him by Gary Zimet, who said an unidentified collector would sell it to McCartney for \$550,000. Zimet said Tuesday that he had revealed the collector's name to McCartney, but would not reveal it publicly.



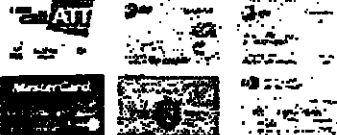
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Clinton & Iraq / Under Attack

Arabs' Muted Criticism

U.S. Raids Are Unpopular, but So Is Saddam

By Lee Hockstader
and Nora Boustany
Washington Post Service

RAMALLAH, West Bank — As far as Anis Abu Hakeem is concerned, President Bill Clinton's honeymoon with the Arab people this week lasted 48 hours.

It began Monday evening when the American leader went to Palestinian-controlled Gaza City and delivered an empathetic, impassioned speech on the plight of Palestinians. It ended Wednesday evening when Mr. Clinton sent U.S. missiles and bombs to obliterate targets in Baghdad.

On Thursday, Abu Hakeem, a 63-year-old barber who wears a tie to work every day, taped a poster of Saddam Hussein in the window of his salon in Ramallah, just north of Jerusalem.

"Clinton gave a very nice speech in Gaza," people liked it," he said. "But it seems like he had a hidden agenda, to postpone his day of judgment on his affairs with Monica." He was referring to Monica Lewinsky, the former White House intern.

He added, "We don't know what is in his heart."

The U.S. strikes, coming on the eve of the monthlong Muslim holiday of Ramadan, are broadly unpopular in the Arab world. Arab public opinion typically sees the United States as exercising a blatant double standard by insisting on Iraq's compliance with United Nations resolutions on weapons of mass destruction while overlooking Israel's defiance of UN resolutions, including the demand that it withdraw unconditionally from the West Bank.

But among many Arab governments, Mr. Saddam is scarcely more popular

than the American strikes against him, so reactions Thursday to the renewal of war in the Gulf, while generally negative, were muted in some cases.

Since the last showdown with Iraq in mid-November, the Clinton administration has coaxed a number of major Arab governments to distance themselves from Iraq.

On Thursday, Arab newspapers issued scathing criticism of the U.S. action, but many Arab leaders measured their words, often expressing concern about the welfare of Iraqi civilians.

The secretary-general of the Arab League, Essam Abdel Meguid, said, "This strike is considered to be an act of aggression against an Arab country that was trying to implement and comply with UN Security Council resolutions." He also asked why Israel, which has suspended implementation of a U.S.-brokered peace agreement, was going unpunished.

Selim Hoss, the newly designated Lebanese prime minister, condemned the air strikes as "a collective punishment and flagrant violation of all international charters on human rights."

But a senior Arab diplomat in Cairo said that a summit meeting of the 22-member Arab League was unlikely because Arab leaders harbored little sympathy for Mr. Saddam, Reuters reported.

Although Palestinians in several West Bank towns demonstrated in support of Iraq, their leader, Yasser Arafat, who backed in Mr. Clinton's presence in Gaza and Palestinian-controlled Bethlehem this week, was notably silent. That represented an about-face from the Gulf War of 1991, when Mr. Arafat openly sided with Mr. Saddam.



Palestinian children carrying Iraqi flags and posters of President Saddam Hussein during an anti-American rally in the Gaza Strip on Thursday.

One of Mr. Arafat's top aides, Saeb Erekat, delivered a carefully worded statement on the American action that fell short of outright condemnation.

"We demand an immediate cessation of this strike against Iraq," said Mr. Erekat, a principal Palestinian negotiator with Israel and the United States.

"We believe that only through peaceful means can such problems be solved."

Palestinians held their largest pro-Iraq rally in the West Bank town of Nablus, where a couple of thousand Palestinians took to the streets, chanting "Death to America" and "Death to Clinton."

In Amman, Jordan, dozens of women chained pro-Iraqi slogans and waved placards denouncing the first wave of U.S. attacks.

Several thousand students at Cairo University also staged demonstrations against the U.S. raids.

At the American University in Beirut, students carried out a sit-in during which they assailed the U.S. attacks as well as the acquiescence of Arab governments.

"They bury their heads in the sand out of fear and shame," one poster read.

In Ramallah, a city bustling with color and commerce, Palestinians nearly set fire to the towering municipal Christmas tree when they burned an American flag, along with British and Israeli flags, in a small rally in the central square.

Gulf Arab governments were low-key in their responses, with Qatar and Oman simply expressing concern over the safety of Iraqi citizens.

Israel Prepares Defense

But Iraqi Attack Is Highly Unlikely, It Says

By Joel Greenberg
New York Times Service

JERUSALEM — Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu issued a veiled warning Thursday that Israel would hit back if attacked by Saddam Hussein in response to the wave of American and British air strikes on Iraq.

"We reserve the right to self-defense," Mr. Netanyahu said in a radio interview. "Israel will know how to defend itself. I think everyone knows what Israel's capabilities are."

But even as the Israeli Army announced that it was positioning Patriot missile batteries to defend against a possible Iraqi missile attack, Israeli officials asserted that an attack was highly unlikely. Mr. Saddam's offensive capabilities were limited, they said, and he would not want to risk retaliation by Israel while he was under American and British assault.

At the urging of the army's civil defense command, some Israelis stocked up on gas masks and protective materials for their homes, but most went about their business with a sense that there was no imminent threat from the conflict in the Gulf.

"I'm neither calm nor hysterical, but I'm not worried," said Ilana Cohen, 35, a real estate agent, as she sat in a Jerusalem cafe. "It all seems so far away. I don't believe he'll attack us because he fears our response, which would be harsh. We wouldn't let him get away with it this time."

"We should definitely react," said Agriculture Minister Rafael Eitan, a member of the rightist Tsomet Party and a former army chief of staff. "We should give them food for thought in the future. It would be a good warning to those around them, not only to them."

The civil defense command opened gas-mask distribution centers and called on the public to stock up on masks, plastic sheeting and masking tape to seal rooms in the event of an attack with chemical or biological weapons.

The army began deploying Patriot missile batteries near cities to defend against possible incoming Iraqi missiles, and a spokesman for the Defense Ministry said that Israel was using sophisticated radar and satellite links with the Americans to detect missile firings. Health officials met counterparts from the army's medical corps to plan responses to a possible attack with chemical or biological agents.

Yet, according to Israeli intelligence assessments, there is little evidence to suggest that Mr. Saddam has either the means or the incentive to fire missiles at Israel as he did during the Gulf War.

"At the moment, Saddam Hussein is preoccupied with defense against the United States, and our assessment is that as long as there is no concrete threat to his existence, he will not take steps to attack Israel that could embolden him on another front," Brigadier General Amos Gilad, chief of research for Israeli military intelligence, told a news conference.

The State Department, meanwhile, ordered the departure of some staff and their family members at the U.S. Embassy in Tel Aviv and the U.S. Consulate in Jerusalem, recommending that other Americans should consider leaving the country. British travel companies evacuated several hundred tourists from the Red Sea resort of Eilat, while the Israeli Tourism Ministry announced that it had enough gas masks for all visitors.

Mr. Netanyahu, for his part, praised what he described as the "composure" of the Israeli public.

"Israel is prepared for every eventuality," Mr. Netanyahu said. "We are not involved in this conflict, and we have no intention of being involved in this conflict. But if someone wants to involve us, we know that Israel has the full right to self-defense. We have many capabilities in this matter, and there's no need to go into details."

In the 1991 Gulf War, Israel absorbed 39 Iraqi Scud missiles without a response in order to prevent a defection of Arab countries from the American-led coalition fighting Iraq. There is no such coalition today, and the Israelis feel free to respond to a possible Iraqi attack.

Missile Intended for Iraq Hits Iranian Border City

Reuters

TEHRAN — A stray missile from the allied attack on Iraq crashed into a southwestern Iranian border city on Thursday, causing no casualties but prompting a strong diplomatic protest from Tehran.

The official Iranian press agency, IRNA, quoted a source in the port of Khorramshahr as saying the missile touched down near the city's central mosque, shattering nearby windows and damaging property within a 200-meter (660-foot) radius.

The source told IRNA that the missile had apparently targeted one of the Iraqi installations in the city of Basra, but instead hit Khorramshahr, IRNA said.

The blast spread panic in the city, which was virtually destroyed during the 1980-1988 war between Iran and Iraq, but there were no injuries, the agency said. Iranian television showed a row of apartments whose hallways were strewn with broken glass. The report said the projectile was a cruise missile, but it was unclear whether the weapon's warhead had exploded.

State radio said Foreign Ministry officials had lodged a protest over the incident with the ambassador of Switzerland, who represents the United States in Iran, and with the British charge d'affaires.

"The Swiss ambassador and British charge were summoned to the Foreign Ministry, where the Islamic Republic of Iran's strong protest regarding the landing of a missile in Khorramshahr was submitted to them," it said.

Ministry officials said they held Britain and America, which launched the joint attack against Iraq in the early hours on Thursday, local time, responsible for any damages or injuries.

No comment was available from the Western envoys, but the radio quoted them as saying the missile had deviated from its trajectory and that they expressed their regret.

The radio also quoted the Foreign Ministry as saying that Iranians making pilgrimages to holy Shiite Muslim sites in neighboring Iraq were safe and that preparations were under way for their return home.

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PINOCHET: Law Lords Give General a 2d Chance at Immunity

Continued from Page 1

post with a charity is to hear a case touching on the very subject matter that charity has sworn to abolish."

Spain is seeking to try General Pinochet in Madrid on charges of genocide, terrorism and torture in the deaths and disappearances of more than 3,000 people.

Ms. Montgomery pointed out that Amnesty International had targeted her client as an enemy and associated him with the very crimes he is charged with in the Spanish petition. "When you consider how it appears," she said, "there is a reason to fear that Lord Hoffmann as a director of a company sworn to secure the end of torture and extra-judicial disappearances would be predisposed to find that no state immunity would attach to such acts."

In its ruling Nov. 25, the Law Lords argued that crimes like torture and hostage-taking did not enjoy sovereign immunity because they could not be considered functional acts of a head of state.

Lord Browne-Wilkinson made his announcement in the characteristically understated manner of the venerable House of Lords.

Speaking from a loose-leaf notebook to largely vacant red leather benches, he said, "I am satisfied that the earlier

decision of this House cannot stand and must be set aside. It is impossible in the time available to prepare and give full reasons for that view — on the other hand, it is essential that the parties should know where they stand as soon as possible."

The ruling brought a sharp reversal in the feelings of opponents of General Pinochet, who have been cheered by a series of unexpected turns in their favor, and the general's supporters, who have become increasingly angry at the government for not seeing him free.

"This case should now be brought to an end," said Sir Norman Fowler, the Conservatives' chief law enforcement representative, hailing the ruling. "This is a case which should be settled in Chile, not here in Britain."

Opponents of General Pinochet were dejected, and their first reactions were tinged with pessimism about the eventual outcome.

Carlos Reyes, spokesman for Chile Democratico and Chileans in Exile, said he was "in total shock" at the decision and feared that this "could be the way out for Pinochet." Andy McEntee, the chairman of Amnesty International, said, "Augusto Pinochet has very inventive lawyers. They are very good, very effective. They will make this a long case, one that is hard for him to lose."

Jeremy Corbyn, a Labour member of

Parliament who is a human rights activist, said, "It must be remembered that it is still very significant that Pinochet has been arrested and brought into court at all, a lot of Chileans never thought that would happen."

Lord Hoffmann, 64, is seen in British legal circles as one of the brightest lawyers of his generation.

A South African who studied at Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar, he moved to England in 1964, and became a prominent commercial lawyer before joining the High Court in 1985 and the Law Lords in 1995.

People in the legal establishment have expressed puzzlement at his failure to appreciate the need to disclose his links to Amnesty International. He has made no comment himself.

General Pinochet's chief lawyer, Michael Caplan, also declined to comment. In a separate effort to free the general, he is preparing a challenge to the British home secretary, to let the Spanish extradition case go forward in England's courts. Because of that ruling, General Pinochet made his first public appearance since his arrest two months ago at a formal bail hearing last Friday.

He told the magistrate that he did not recognize the jurisdiction of any court outside of Chile to consider charges against him.

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Duma Considers Appeal to Lewinsky

The Associated Press

MOSCOW — Russian legislators considered a motion Thursday, appealing to Monica Lewinsky to help halt the American attack on Iraq.

"The State Duma appeals to Ms. Lewinsky to undertake corresponding measures to restrain the emotions of Bill Clinton," said the motion by a nationalist legislator, Alexander Filatov.

Members of the Duma, the lower chamber of Parliament, considered including the motion in a broader resolution denouncing the attack on Iraq. But seeking to speed up passage of the resolution, they approved it later Thursday without any additions. There was no separate vote on the Lewinsky amendment.

"Many people link it with Clinton's impeachment and his intimate relations with a certain person, but if these relations develop into such acts of vandalism, then all of U.S. democracy is worth a penny," said the Communist leader, Gennadi Zyuganov, during a debate in the Duma on the Iraqi crisis.

Also, during the Duma session, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, an ultranationalist leader and a supporter of Iraq's leader, Saddam Hussein, called Mr. Clinton an "international bandit who ought to be tried."

CHINA: 2 Trials Retreat From Reforms

Continued from Page 1

part of a wider campaign against the increasing freedoms being enjoyed by most Chinese. Since March, the authorities have given scholars, authors and journalists more leeway in addressing sensitive political and social problems, and the government has shown greater tolerance of opposing views than its predecessors.

In recent weeks, however, more than 30 persons have been detained or interrogated in connection with the opposition effort, and nearly half of them remain in custody. Among those still in jail is Xu Weili, a longtime dissident.

In a bold show of support, more than 200 people from provinces as far away as Hainan Island in the south and Hebei in the north gathered Thursday outside the Hangzhou court where Mr. Wang's trial was held. The police detained at least 15 persons.

Outside Mr. Qin's trial, two persons were detained.

Relatives said that an attorney who agreed to defend Mr. Wang was apprehended at a train station this week in the northeast province of Liaoning and not allowed to leave. A lawyer who said he would defend Mr. Qin rescinded that offer under police pressure, according to a relative.

His brother said that Mr. Qin refused to answer any of the questions posed by either the three-judge panel or prosecutors. When Mr. Qin attempted to make a concluding argument, prosecutors and

judges interrupted him seven times until an unidentified official in the audience called the bailiff over and passed a message to the judges to stop interrupting. Mr. Qin was then allowed to finish his statement.

Mr. Qin, 45, was accused of "inciting the overthrow of state power" in part because of his effort to register the China Democratic Party. Prosecutors also cited his work to found China's first homegrown human rights bulletin as another of his crimes.

Mr. Wang's wife, Hu Jiaxia, said her husband had prepared a defense of more than 20 pages but had time to make it through only 5 because of objections from court officials. Mr. Wang, 32, a former leader of protests around Tiananmen Square in 1989, started the effort to officially register the nascent opposition party in June on the day that President Bill Clinton arrived in China for a meeting with President Jiang Zemin.

Dissidents have taken advantage of China's recent openness to push for reform.

Activists like Mr. Xu, Mr. Qin and Mr. Wang revived the movement this year with a new strategy to engage the government publicly in the legal realm, where leaders had made international commitments to protect citizen rights.

By the end of their campaign, they had succeeded in convincing activists from 14 provinces and major cities to attempt to register the party. It was unprecedented show of support for the concept of an opposition group in China.

Clinton & Iraq / Under Attack

Iraq May Hide Huge Stockpile of Deadly Germs, Inspectors Say

By Judith Miller
and William J. Broad
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — UN weapons inspectors have concluded that Iraq could be hiding two to five times more deadly germ agents than it had admitted to making, as well as warheads to deliver them, UN officials said.

In interviews, the inspectors said Iraq's systematic refusal to cooperate in recent weeks had deepened their suspicions, which stem from evidence they have gathered since the end of the 1991 Gulf War.

The inspectors disclosed that Iraq had failed to turn over a key log book of purchases by its germ program, which would account, among other things, for the amount of media, or special food for germs, it had bought.

Iraq also refused to open buildings for routine inspections and only belatedly

made available the Iraqi experts who could help resolve key discrepancies about Baghdad's production of germ weapons.

In his speech Wednesday night, President Bill Clinton said he had ordered the attack on Iraq to help contain Saddam Hussein and his weapons of mass destruction. Mr. Clinton listed some of the obstacles and harassment inspectors faced. But the inspectors said the problems went far beyond the president's statements.

The scope of Iraq's germ program remains cloaked in mystery, the experts agreed, with every indication that Baghdad had backtracked during this latest round of inspections on even its previous minimal cooperation.

"Clearly," said one official who returned from Baghdad, "they weren't going to cooperate and were going out of their way to cause problems."

Iraq has already confessed to making

enough deadly microbes to kill all the people on earth several times over.

After the Gulf War, Baghdad admitted to having loaded botulinum toxin (which causes muscular paralysis resulting in death) into 16 warheads, anthrax (which causes high fever and is usually fatal within two weeks) into five warheads, and aflatoxin (which causes liver cancer) into four warheads.

It also acknowledged having filled 157 bombs with the same deadly agents, and having conducted research on ricin, a potent toxin (which causes nausea, vomiting and diarrhea); wheat cover smut (which ruins food grains); hemorrhagic conjunctivitis (which causes extreme pain and temporary blindness); rotavirus (which causes acute diarrhea that can lead to death); and camel pox (a camel version of small pox).

But the inspectors now believe that Iraq could well have gone even further, based on discrepancies between what

Iraq has declared having imported, consumed, and destroyed.

Inspectors said that the biological teams were denied at least three key documents, at least one of which was key to reconciling Iraq's reporting record.

According to two inspectors, the UN team asked the Iraqis on the morning of the first day of meetings for a "log book" that described purchases and imports for the germ program, which several of them had seen in 1995 but had failed to grasp as significant. Among the log book's entries were imported shipments of media, or the special foods used for growing germs.

At the first meeting, the Iraqis promised to produce the critical log book. But each day, they offered another excuse. The inspectors said the book was critical to estimating the amount of germ agents that Baghdad could have produced and turned into weapons.

At first, the Iraqi team said they could

not find the book, two inspectors said. Then the Iraqis said that the book should be retrievable, but that if they found it, they would need the approval of Tariq Aziz, Iraq's deputy prime minister, to release it to the team. By the last day of the meetings, the Iraqis indicated that they were still looking for the book.

In other cases, the Iraqis refused to provide documents they acknowledged existed. One was a list from the customs department of imported food to grow germs, which was also requested on the first day of the meetings. The Iraqis said they could not find it, an inspector said.

An inspector said that if Baghdad had used the imported germ food to grow deadly agents, especially anthrax in either liquid or dry form, the microbes could still be used in weapons.

On Dec. 4, Diane Seaman, a U.S. inspector, tried to lead a large, experienced biological team into a site inspectors considered routine. While

she was permitted to go the building, the Iraqis refused to open the doors of the office she sought to enter, telling her that she would have to "break down" the locked doors. "It was a holy day," one inspector conceded. "But there can be no exempt days or the inspection system wouldn't work."

The Iraqis also delayed making available key officials from the biological program whom the inspectors sought to interview. "We had asked for six," one inspector said. "But they only produced three of the people we wanted at the early meetings."

By the last meeting, when their usefulness was marginal, Iraq finally produced the contingent.

But the Iraqis have told inspectors that two top scientists in the germ program whom the United Nations wanted to question are out of the country. One of them was said to be in Britain, an allegation London has denied.

U.S. Air Strikes Might Fail in Ultimate Goal

By Rick Atkinson and Vernon Loeb
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — President Bill Clinton has laid out a loose set of aims for the latest Gulf military campaign, ranging from punishing Iraqi recalcitrance and shoring up U.S. credibility to compelling compliance with UN Security Council mandates and crippling Baghdad's enduring ambitions for weapons of mass destruction.

The most ambitious and heartfelt objective, however, is one that went unspoken except in Mr. Clinton's call for "a new Iraqi government": deposing President Saddam Hussein. U.S. planners hope that precise intelligence coupled with new refinements in precision weaponry will compensate for any shortfall in firepower, allowing the attacks to either fatally weaken the underpinnings of Mr. Saddam's regime or kill him outright.

While certainly lethal, the forces at hand are a pale shadow of those mustered for the first Gulf War eight years ago, particularly given the multiple objectives enumerated by Mr. Clinton. Several hundred Tomahawk missiles and air-launched cruise missiles, and a few hundred sorties by attack aircraft will degrade Iraq's capacity for building weapons of mass destruction and for threatening its neighbors. But as the Gulf War demonstrated, that sort of military pummeling does not necessarily yield a political victory if Mr. Saddam remains defiantly in power.

The definition of success may be even more difficult in Gulf War II than it was in Gulf War I, where the restoration of Kuwait sovereignty provided tangible proof of an allied victory. Without a change of regime in Bag-



Flashes illuminating the Baghdad horizon early Thursday as the attacks began. Iraqi anti-aircraft guns repeatedly fired all night.

dad, the chief trophy for the Clinton administration will be Iraqi rubble, perhaps at a cost of terminating UN weapons inspections and the last shred of big power harmony on Iraq.

Despite the efforts of Mr. Clinton and other senior U.S. officials to portray the attack as an effort to reinvigorate the UN inspection regime, some analysts said it was more likely to end the inspection system once and for all. That would leave the United States and the United Nations attempting to impose an arms control regime on Iraq solely through sanctions and other external pressures.

"We are going to war to get rid of Saddam's weapons of mass destruction, yet we are jeopardizing it not destroying our prospects of getting Saddam's weapons of mass destruction," said William Arkin, author of a highly regarded analysis of the 1991 air campaign.

Some U.S. intelligence officials believe the Iraqi dictator is increasingly vulnerable to internal dissent, external opposition and regional isolation.

Two of Mr. Saddam's sons, Qusay and Uday, recently have been given expanded

authority, making nearly all of the ruling Ba'ath Party senior officials and government ministries subordinate to one or the other of them. Those moves are interpreted by intelligence sources to indicate substantial rivalries within the inner circle.

As for compelling Iraq to "come into cooperation" and "comply" with UN mandates, as Mr. Clinton put it, air power as a tool of coercive diplomacy rarely has been effective.

The allied coalition during the 43-day Gulf War dropped 88,500 tons of bombs, more than fell on Japan in the last six weeks of World War II. Even then, the U.S.-led coalition forces needed a massive land attack into southern Iraq to obtain not an unconditional surrender but a limited capitulation.

Mr. Clinton's political perils at home mean that his ability to rally and sustain support for an extended attack is limited. "The situation is so bizarre that one hesitates to know where to begin," said Eliot Cohen, a Johns Hopkins University strategic studies expert who extensively studied the Gulf War air campaign.

"I think the main thing is that the coalition is pretty fragile. Once you take some serious

civilian casualties, all of a sudden people start bailing out."

Bringing about Mr. Saddam's ouster with air power alone has proved impossible before. The air armada that waged the 1991 campaign totaled about 2,700 aircraft, compared with 201 U.S. planes currently in the Gulf region, supplemented by a dozen British bombers.

The current "target set" likely emphasized leadership targets and facilities used in the development of weapons of mass destruction, with U.S. planners benefiting immensely from seven years of intelligence gathered by UN weapons inspectors and information disgorged by highly placed Iraqi defectors. One analyst familiar with U.S. planning estimated Wednesday that potential nuclear, biological and chemical weapons targets now exceed 200, including dairies, breweries, pharmaceutical plants and other facilities that could have a legitimate civilian purpose as well as military potential. Forty-three such targets were hit during the Gulf War.

"The biggest difference between then and now is, the Iraqis are much, much weaker and we know much, much more," Mr. Cohen said. "That doesn't mean we'll be successful."

A 'Legal' Assault

Experts Cite UN and U.S. Resolutions

By Neil A. Lewis
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The legal justification for bombing of Iraq by U.S. forces is contained in congressional and UN resolutions dating from the 1991 Gulf War, government officials and scholars of international law said.

The most important element was the resolution adopted by the United Nations to end the Gulf War in February 1991, which was cited Wednesday by James Rubin, the State Department spokesman. That resolution provided for a cease-fire and established a system under which Iraq would demolish its weapons of mass destruction and allow unrestricted inspection of suspected weapons sites by a UN commission.

Asked about the legal authority to launch a military strike, Mr. Rubin told reporters: "I think one need go no further than talk to the subject of the cease-fire resolution, Resolution 687, which set forth the conditions for a cease-fire."

Because Iraq has thwarted the weapons inspections required by the cease-fire resolution, Mr. Rubin said, the United Nations may then fall back on the earlier resolution that authorized military force and began the Gulf War, the start of which President George Bush announced on Jan. 16, 1991.

Ruth Wedgwood, a professor at Yale Law School, compared in the current issue of the American Journal of International Law that the cease-fire resolution was conditioned on Iraq's acceptance of inspections of suspected weapons sites. By blocking the inspectors, she said, the cease-fire resolution was automatically suspended.

She also said that the United States was not required to go back to the United Nations for additional permission.

Ms. Wedgwood added that the bombing of Iraq in January 1993 by forces from the United States, Britain and France reinforced the notion that such nations may act by themselves to enforce UN resolutions. That bombing occurred after Baghdad prevented weapons inspectors from using the Habbaniyah airfield, effectively preventing short-notice inspections.

But Michael Ramey, a lawyer with the Center for Constitutional Rights in New York, said he believed that the United States had no legal right to conduct the military operation against Iraq. Mr. Ramey, who brought an unsuccessful lawsuit in 1990 trying to block the Gulf War, said that after the cease-fire was in place, all authorization to bomb Iraq ended.

He said the United Nations would have to first formally declare that there has been "a material breach" of the cease-fire before it could fall back on the resolutions authorizing military force. To do otherwise, he argued, would allow "any nation in the world to decide unilaterally that Iraq has breached its promise to abide by the cease-fire resolution and bomb Baghdad."

A second legal issue is whether President Bill Clinton may authorize military force on his own without congressional authorization. The constitution vests Congress with the sole power to declare war. Yet according to various experts' tallies, presidents have sent forces abroad 130 to 200 times since the founding of the republic, even though Congress has explicitly declared war on only five occasions: the War of 1812, the Mexican War, the Spanish-American War and the two world wars.

Administration officials have argued that a resolution passed by Congress on the eve of the 1991 Gulf War provides the justification for the president to act unilaterally.

TRAVEL UPDATE

London-Delhi Flights Canceled

NEW DELHI (Reuters) — United Airlines canceled several flights between London and New Delhi for Thursday and Friday because of the U.S.-led air strikes against Iraq, while other carriers said they were closely tracking events in the Gulf. Iraq lies in the path of London-Delhi flights.

British Airways said it planned to operate its entire schedule Thursday. But at Air France, an executive there said, "At the moment, there are no cancellations." He said Air France would monitor the developments in Iraq.

Northwest Airlines said the Iraq crisis had not affected its flight schedules between India and the United States.

TB Risk in Air Travel Is on Rise

GENEVA (AP) — The resurgence of tuberculosis has increased the risk of passengers or crews on long-distance flights catching the disease, the World Health Organization said Thursday.

Claus Curdt-Christiansen, a member of a special panel of the United Nations agency, said, "Inflight exposure to infectious tuberculosis in co-passengers has become a realistic possibility owing to the high prevalence of tuberculosis in some regions of the world."

The agency stressed that no case of active TB had yet been discovered as a result of exposure to the disease on a commercial aircraft. Mario Ravighione of WHO's communicable diseases unit called the risk of catching TB on an airliner "very low."

Forest Fires Caused Smell in Jet

ZURICH (AP) — Forest fires on the Indonesian island of Sumatra are believed to have caused an acrid smell in the cockpit of a Swissair MD-11 that prompted the captain to turn back, the company said Thursday.

Flight 189 from Singapore to Zurich turned back 41 minutes after takeoff on Nov. 26. An analysis of the air filter systems had shown a large amount of burnt organic material, the airline said.

Dutch Airport Closes 2 Runways

AMSTERDAM (AP) — Schiphol Airport, the busiest aviation hub in the Netherlands, closed two runways Thursday to all-night flights for the rest of the year to avoid surpassing noise pollution limits.

Aircraft unable to land on the remaining two runways because of adverse weather conditions will be rerouted to another airport, Schiphol said. A third runway was closed to night flights this year and will remain so until Jan. 1.

French Airport Crews Plan Strike

PARIS (AP) — Fuel crews at 10 of France's biggest airports are to go on strike Friday and cause some delays or cancellations on the first major travel day of the holiday season, airline officials said Thursday.

The one-day walkout is to affect both Paris airports as well as those serving Bordeaux, Lille, Lyon, Montpellier, Marseille, Nice, Perpignan, and Toulouse, union officials said. Pay and schedules are at issue.

Unions covering ground staff at Orly Airport, south of Paris, have urged their members to strike on two of the busiest days of the year — Dec. 24 and 31 — to back claims for permanent work contracts and higher pay. (AFP)

Japan Airlines is seeking Japanese government permission to start a service between Tokyo and Dallas/Fort Worth beginning March 15. (Reuters)

Saddam Hails 'Day of Triumph'

Reuters

BAGHDAD — The Iraqi leader, Saddam Hussein, has named the start of U.S.-led military strikes against his country as "the Day of Triumph," Baghdad radio reported.

"President Saddam Hussein has called today, in which Iraqis have confronted the American-British deceitful aggression, the Day of Fate," the radio said. "May God make it a day of sustained triumph and a historic day for Iraq under the leadership of Saddam Hussein," it added.

Hundreds of protesters organized by Arab doctors attending a conference in Baghdad, protested the air strikes Thursday and called on the United Nations to stop the bombing. The demonstrators delivered a written message to a UN official in Baghdad addressed to Secretary-General Kofi Annan.

WEATHER

Forecast for Saturday through Monday, as provided by AccuWeather.

Europe

City	Today	Low	High	Tomorrow	Low	High
Amsterdam	32	28	36	33	29	37
Antwerp	31	27	35	32	28	36
Berlin	30	26	34	31	27	35
Brussels	31	27	35	32	28	36
Cologne	31	27	35	32	28	36
Düsseldorf	31	27	35	32	28	36
Frankfurt	31	27	35	32	28	36
Hamburg	31	27	35	32	28	36
London	31	27	35	32	28	36
Madrid	31	27	35	32	28	36
Munich	31	27	35	32	28	36
Nuremberg	31	27	35	32	28	36
Paris	31	27	35	32	28	36
Rome	31	27	35	32	28	36
Stockholm	31	27	35	32	28	36
Vienna	31	27	35	32	28	36
Zurich	31	27	35	32	28	36

North America

City	Today	Low	High	Tomorrow	Low	High
Anchorage	29	25	33	30	26	34
Atlanta	30	26	34	31	27	35
Boston	30	26	34	31	27	35
Chicago	30	26	34	31	27	35
Denver	30	26	34	31	27	35
Detroit	30	26	34	31	27	35
Houston	30	26	34	31	27	35
Los Angeles	30	26	34	31	27	35
London	30	26	34	31	27	35
Madrid	30	26	34	31	27	35
Munich	30	26	34	31	27	35
Nuremberg	30	26	34	31	27	35
Paris	30	26	34	31	27	35
Rome	30	26	34	31	27	35
Stockholm	30	26	34	31	27	35
Vienna	30	26	34	31	27	35
Zurich	30	26	34	31	27	35

Asia

City	Today	Low	High	Tomorrow	Low	High
Almaty	30	26	34	31	27	35
Bangkok	30	26	34	31	27	35
Beijing	30	26	34	31	27	35
Bombay	30	26	34	31	27	35
Calcutta	30	26	34	31	27	35
Chengdu	30	26	34	31	27	35
Colombo	30	26	34	31	27	35
Delhi	30	26	34	31	27	35
Dhaka	30	26	34	31	27	35
Hong Kong	30	26	34	31	27	35
Kobe	30	26	34	31	27	35
London	30	26	34	31	27	35
Madras	30	26	34	31	27	35
Manila	30	26	34	31	27	35
Moscow	30	26	34	31	27	35
Mumbai	30	26	34	31	27	35
Nagasaki	30	26	34	31	27	35
Osaka	30	26	34	31	27	35
Seoul	30	26	34	31	27	35
Singapore	30	26	34	31	27	35
Tokyo	30	26	34	31	27	35
Yokohama	30	26	34	31	27	35

Africa

City	Today	Low	High	Tomorrow	Low	High
Abuja	30	26	34	31	27	35
Accra	30	26	34	31	27	35
Algiers	30	26	34	31	27	35
Antananarivo	30	26	34	31	27	35
Bamako	30	26	34	31	27	35
Beijing	30	26	34	31	27	35
Bombay	30	26	34	31	27	35
Calcutta	30	26	34	31	27	35
Chengdu	30	26	34	31	27	35
Colombo	30	26	34	31	27	35
Delhi	30	26	34	31	27	35
Dhaka	30	26	34	31	27	35
Hong Kong	30	26	34	31	27	35
Kobe	30	26	34	31	27	35
London	30	26	34	31	27	35
Madras	30	26	34	31	27	35
Manila	30	26	34	31	27	35
Moscow	30	26	34	31	27	35
Mumbai	30	26	34	31	27	35
Nagasaki	30	26	34	31	27	35
Osaka	30	26	34	31	27	35
Seoul	30	26	34	31	27	35
Singapore	30	26	34	31	27	35
Tokyo	30	26	34	31	27	35
Yokohama	30	26	34	31	27	35

Latin America

Qatar Town	2384	1198 s	2682	1457 s
Concepcion	2971	1162 s	2170	948 s
Hopkins	2670	1050 sh	2475	1945 s
Johnstown	2475	1091 sh	2475	1681 pc
Jerusalem	3169	2373 s	3026	3523 s
Madrid	3767	4558 pc	2492	6553 s
Tunis	1457	478 pc	1957	1957 s

Latin America					
Buenos Aires	2676	1457 s	2392	1702 pc	
Caracas	2475	2170 sh	2475	1681 s	
La Paz	2763	2170 sh	2475	2008 c	
Mexico City	2971	1162 s	2371	1162 s	
Rio de Janeiro	3066	2373 s	2371	2373 pc	
Santiago	3268	7144 s	2392	1945 s	

Oceania					
Auckland	2271	1894 s	2475	1702 pc	

ASIA/PACIFIC

Clashes in Jakarta Leave Scores of Students Hurt

Violence Follows Strong Warning by Habibie

NEW YORK TIMES SERVICE
JAKARTA — Scores of students were wounded by rubber bullets in clashes Thursday with Indonesian security forces only hours after President B.J. Habibie warned that unrest on the streets could lead to the "disintegration of the nation."

The clash in central Jakarta, near Parliament, was the worst violence since Nov. 13, when 14 people were shot and killed and scores were wounded during anti-government demonstrations spearheaded by university students.

Speaking Thursday at an armed forces graduation ceremony in Jakarta, Mr. Habibie said: "There is a tendency to fight for political power through demonstrations. If uncontrolled these could lead to the disintegration of the nation."

"Freedom of public expression is every citizen's right and is protected by law," he added. "It should not be at the cost of other people's rights."

With tempers fraying on both sides, students who want former President Suharto arrested on corruption charges hurled rocks at riot police and soldiers who, in turn, fired warning shots, tear gas and rubber bullets to disperse the crowd of 4,000.

Witnesses saw riot police hurling rocks back at the students.

Late Thursday afternoon, reinforcements, including elite naval Marines, were rushed to support the riot police and Kostrad, or Strategic Reserve, units. This brought the total combined military strength to about 1,000 men.

By nightfall, security forces formed blocks of 100 and, banging their truncheons on their riot shields, started to march down the main toll road outside the Parliament building to clear the highway. The students had already dispersed, however.

Defense analysts say Indonesian security forces have adopted new tactics

to try to avoid bloodshed on the streets.

These include the use of stronger variants of tear gas, water cannon and additional use of barbed wire barricades to seal off roads.

As an additional safety measure, the armed forces chief, General Wiranto, has ordered that soldiers and riot police in face-to-face contact with student demonstrators should be unarmed except for batons and shields.

But this does not include massed ranks of security forces standing behind the front lines. These soldiers are armed with automatic rifles loaded with rubber bullets and tear-gas grenade launchers.

Students clashed with security forces Wednesday over a proposal by General Wiranto to recruit a 40,000-strong civilian militia to help maintain law and order on Jakarta's streets.

The proposal has also raised concerns among opposition politicians, human rights advocates and diplomats worried that the short training and recruitment period could result in the formation of an ill-disciplined and partisan force.

A retired armed forces chief, General Abdul Haris Nasution, has also added his voice to opponents of the militia force.

"It will only make things worse in the midst of the present social conflict," he said Wednesday.

Indonesia's total police force numbers about 200,000, too small to provide an adequate policing role in a nation of 220 million people, according to the government.

On Wednesday, a senior Indonesian cabinet minister called for a slowdown of democratic reforms, warning of widespread unrest unless the country's economic problems are solved first.

"I think we've gone too far and too fast in this area of openness," Culture and Education Minister Juwono Sudarsono said at a meeting of the Indonesia-



An Indonesian soldier helping a comrade to safety after he was beaten by protesters in Jakarta on Thursday.

Australia Business Council. Management of Indonesia's democratic reform process should be undertaken peacefully and in stages because of the potential for unrest in an "environment of economic deprivation," he said.

"Things have been put into helterskelter now," he said. "I think there has to be a sense of proportion in the degree of change we need to implement."

Appeal for Peace in East Timor

Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, the Nobel laureate, appealed Thursday to East Timorese to halt a series of street protests and show respect for Christmas and the Muslim fasting month of Ramadan, Agence France-Presse reported from Jakarta.

"I deeply disagree with acts of protest which coincide with the days on which Christians are preparing to celebrate the birth of Jesus Christ and ahead of the Muslim holy month of

Ramadan, a month of restraint," Bishop Belo was quoted as saying by Antara, the Indonesian state press agency.

Speaking in the East Timorese capital of Dili, Bishop Belo also urged East Timorese "to sit down together for a dialogue" instead of parading through the city in protest.

His call came as the East Timorese, who are overwhelmingly Catholic, were preparing to stage protests during a planned visit by Jamusheed Marker, special envoy of UN secretary-general Kofi Annan, for East Timor.

It echoed an appeal in Jakarta by Indonesian religious affairs minister, Malik Fajar, last week, in which he called on students to halt their almost daily protests to respect Ramadan.

Pro-independence East Timorese students have stepped up their protests, most of which call for a referendum on self-determination since the fall of President Suharto in May.

Mr. Suharto ordered the invasion of the former Portuguese colony in 1975. His annexation of the territory a year later after heavy fighting was not recognized by the United Nations.

Indonesian students in Jakarta, who are clamoring for Mr. Suharto to be brought to trial for abuse of power and corruption during his 32-year rule, have vowed to pursue their pro-reform demonstrations throughout the fasting month.

But some have said they were considering a softer approach out of respect for those observing Ramadan.

The fasting month, during which Muslims fast from sunrise to sundown, will start in Indonesia on Sunday.

Although East Timor is predominantly Catholic, Ramadan is observed by the Muslim population of the territory, which comprises Indonesian civil servants, troops, merchants and government-sponsored settlers.

U.S. General Defends Chats At Panmunjom

By Don Kirk
International Herald Tribune

PANMUNJOM — The U.S. general in charge of military negotiations with North Koreans in this truce village has defended informal gatherings with North Korean Army officers, saying that cutting off such contacts would close an important channel for easing tensions.

Major General Michael Hayden of the U.S. Air Force, deputy chief of staff for the United Nations Command, which includes U.S. and South Korean troops, cited the sessions as one element in a wide range of contacts with the North. They were held in a building astride the line between the two Koreas.

He was angered by a report last week that revealed informal but authorized gatherings of North Korean and American officers over whiskey and beer.

A former senior U.S. State Department official, in revealing the gatherings, had said the meetings yielded "substantial misinformation" from the North and probably had led to contacts between North and South Korean soldiers that are barred by South Korean law.

The official, Kenneth Quinones, also had said he believed the talks had been "shut down."

General Hayden said there had been no such order.

The general characterized talks at several different levels as "tightly tied to the purposes of Panmunjom," the only crossing between South and North Korea and the site of the signing of the armistice that ended the Korean War in July 1953.

U.S. military commanders said they hoped to maintain such informal meetings despite an investigation into illegal contacts between South Koreans and North Koreans in the Joint Security Area, a 50-hectare (125-acre) buffer that straddles the line here. Both American and South Korean soldiers are assigned to a security battalion commanded by an American officer.

General Hayden drew a sharp distinction between the informal talks and formal talks that he occasionally conducts with a North Korean general in a rather small building in the same row on the North-South line. The talks between generals, suspended by the North in 1991, resumed in June after a North Korean submarine was snared in a fishing net off South Korea's east coast.

"My role in all of this," the general said, "is to pass" to the Korean People's Army "that we want to meet with them."

The talks, both formal and informal, appear to be another sign of a broadening dialogue in which South and North Korean diplomats have met in four-party talks in Geneva with American and Chinese representatives and U.S. and North Korean diplomats have met in New York and Washington. General Hayden is as a member of the U.S. delegation to a four-party talks, last held in October.

"At Geneva, they're talking about replacing the armistice with a peace treaty," said John Barry Kotch, a scholar who has written extensively on the negotiations. "At Panmunjom, they talk about maintaining the armistice. Both sets of talks are vital to keeping the peace."

China Levels Ancient Mosque to Assist Urban Redevelopment

Washington Post Service

BEIJING — An ancient mosque in the central Chinese city of Chengdu that local Muslims transformed into a symbol of China's endangered cultural heritage has been demolished to make way for commercial development, according to sources in the city.

Muslims had tried for months to rally support for the Imperial City mosque, built in 1666. Scores of workers and police officers converged on the site in a swift, nighttime raid on Nov. 22 and destroyed the classical wooden temple,

sources said. "The masses have cried over this; it's such a shame," said a Chengdu believer.

He added that most Muslims had refused to enter a new mosque built by the city nearby as compensation, despite reports in the government-controlled media that Muslims are pleased with the move.

The old mosque was on valuable real estate abutting a vast new city square. Local officials hope the new square will help turn Chengdu, the capital of Sichuan Province, into an international

destination for tourists. Basharat Jamil, president of Humanity International, an aid group based in Washington that had been working to save the mosque, said the demolition would "hurt the feelings of 1 billion Muslims."

On Nov. 19, Humanity International faxed a letter to Li Zhaoxing, China's ambassador to the United States, offering to help turn the old mosque into a tourist site for Muslims.

Mr. Jamil sent letters to 12 affluent Islamic countries to raise funds for the mosque and several of them expressed

interest in the proposal, he said.

The mosque was demolished on Nov. 22, but on Nov. 30 Mr. Li responded with what Mr. Jamil thought was a positive letter.

In a reference to the new mosque built by Chengdu authorities, Mr. Li wrote, "It cannot be put into operation until the believers who disagree with the decision of relocation can be brought around."

"This gave us a lot of hope," Mr. Jamil said. "We were working hard."

INTERNATIONAL

As Peacekeepers Bog Down, Sierra Leone Rebels Step Up Fight

By James Rupert
Washington Post Service

FREETOWN, Sierra Leone — Nine months after Nigerian troops forced a military junta out of power in Sierra Leone and restored the elected president, the civil war here has lapsed into a stalemate that continues to draw in neighboring countries while driving out immense numbers of refugees.

Bands of former Sierra Leone Army troops, whose leaders seized power here in May 1997 and were ousted by Nigerian peacekeepers last March, are roaming the country's northern region. And a guerrilla movement that was part of the short-lived junta, the Revolutionary United Front, controls a strategic eastern area, according to a spokesman for the Nigerian-led peacekeeping force known as Ecomog.

The peacekeeping force has deployed about 10,000 troops in towns across much of the country, but for months, it has made no lasting advance against the rebels.

The stalemate "is boosting the morale of the rebels and their activity is increasing," said Francis Okelo, the United Nations special envoy trying to resolve the conflict.

The conflict in Sierra Leone is the most violent of several that in recent years have destabilized a 1,600-kilometer (1,000-mile) stretch of the West African coast, including uprisings in Liberia, Guinea-Bissau and the Casamance region of Senegal.

Liberia, whose own seven-year civil war ended two years ago, appears significantly entangled in the conflict in Sierra Leone.

Foreign diplomats in the region and

senior officials in Sierra Leone say that Liberia's government is either allowing or actively helping Sierra Leonean rebels to find supplies and recruits in Liberia.

Liberia's president, Charles Taylor, has denied the accusation and has accused Sierra Leone, and the Nigerian troops here, of seeking to overthrow him.

In their attacks, the Sierra Leonean rebels have killed civilians or mutilated them and have burned and looted villages, sending refugees into Guinea and Liberia. This war and the one recently ended in Liberia have forced more than 700,000 people to flee their countries, the largest concentration of cross-border refugees in Africa, said Khassim Diagne, a spokesman in West Africa for the UN refugee agency.

African and Western analysts say the

peacekeeping force, if reinforced, might be able to push back the rebels and force them to negotiate seriously with the government. Two years ago, a larger peacekeeping force halted the civil war in Liberia and partly disarmed warring factions, relying on troops from eight West African states, plus millions of dollars in logistical support from the United States.

"A successful Ecomog offensive could open a brief window of opportunity for a settlement" of the war, said a Western analyst who asked not to be identified. But several observers said that any such offensive would require at least 5,000 more troops and a longer-term U.S. commitment to logistical support than its current offer, which is good for less than a year, the analyst said.

To bolster the Nigerian troops in Sierra Leone, the peacekeeping force and

Sierra Leone's president, Ahmad Tejan Kabbah, rely heavily on ill-disciplined militias, mainly from Mr. Kabbah's southern-based Mende tribe, to pursue the rebels into the bush. But the militias, called *kamajors*, also have committed excesses, and their role complicates any effort to negotiate with the rebels, analysts said.

The Sierra Leonean government and diplomats elsewhere in the region say that Liberia appears to be helping the rebel Revolutionary United Front, which for years was allied with Mr. Taylor in Liberia when he was a militia leader.

The front has been recruiting fighters in refugee camps in western Liberia, and Liberian fighters have been captured with the front's forces in Sierra Leone, said Lieutenant Colonel R.F. Okumola, the spokesman for the peacekeeping force.

Sierra Leone's presidential spokesman, Septimus Kaiak, said his country's government was "not aware" that there is necessarily a Liberian government policy of backing the front.

But Mr. Kaiak accused Mr. Taylor's administration of allowing the front to seek arms, supplies and recruits in Liberia for the war in Sierra Leone.

Foreign Minister Monie Captain of Liberia denied that his country has aided the front.

Tension between Sierra Leone and Liberia sharpened this fall when Mr. Kabbah's government sent a note to Mr. Taylor about a visit to Freetown by a Liberian opposition figure, saying there was evidence of a coup plot against Mr. Taylor.

Mr. Taylor accused Sierra Leone of complicity in the alleged plot.

A diplomat in Liberia's capital, Monrovia, said Mr. Taylor was "deeply suspicious of Sierra Leone because of its alignment with Ecomog," which for years frustrated Mr. Taylor's effort to seize power during Liberia's civil war.

In Freetown last month, the Reverend Jesse Jackson, a special envoy for Africa for the Clinton administration, publicly pressed Mr. Kabbah to open talks with the rebels.

Mr. Kabbah reached a peace accord with the rebel front's leader, Foday Sankoh, in 1996, but it quickly fell apart. Mr. Sankoh then backed the May 1997 coup against Mr. Kabbah and, although Mr. Sankoh was in detention in Nigeria, he was appointed the junta's deputy leader.

Mr. Sankoh is now in jail here, appealing a death sentence for his role in the coup. He is the only person who can wield real authority as a negotiator for the rebel front, and thus should be kept alive, Sierra Leonean and Western analysts said.

BRIEFLY

Angolan Battle Reported

LISBON — Angolan government troops killed 63 UNITA rebels and some foreign mercenaries in fighting around Kuito in the central highlands on Wednesday, the Portuguese news agency Lusa reported.

In a dispatch from Luanda, it quoted military sources as saying the fighting took place in Cunji district. Two of the dead were white men who had been driving UNITA tanks, Lusa said.

High-ranking military sources told Lusa that the attempt by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola to take Cunji and Kuito had failed. A government military source said some of the UNITA soldiers wore Rwandan and Ugandan army uniforms. (Reuters)

Guinea President Leads Vote

CONAKRY, Guinea — President Lansana Conte took a huge lead over his three main challengers in partial election results reported Thursday.

According to the results, Mr. Conte won in all but three of 18 constituencies declared. The 20 districts that remain to be counted include the strongholds of Alpha Conde, the opposition leader, who was arrested Tuesday for trying to leave the country illegally. (Reuters)

For the Record

Philip True, 50, a reporter for the San Antonio (Texas) Express-News, who was found dead after disappearing on a hike in the remote mountains of western Mexico, was strangled, the Jalisco state coroner said Thursday. (AP)

Clinton & Iraq / Under Attack

Palette of World Reaction: Anger, Skepticism — and Tepid Support

By Barry James
International Herald Tribune

BRUSSELS — Reaction to the American and British attacks on Iraq ranged on Thursday from the predictable anger in parts of the world, to skepticism in France, and to support shaded with regret from Washington's European allies.

Some governments said the United Nations should have been given the opportunity to debate the report from the UN's weapons inspection team, alleging Iraqi noncompliance with the world organization, which Washington stated was the reason for its action.

"This is a sad day for the United Nations and the world," said the UN secretary-general, Kofi Annan. Many governments expressed a similar sentiment, while nevertheless recognizing that President Saddam Hussein of Iraq had brought the attacks on himself.

Speaking for the European Union, Foreign Minister Wolfgang Schuessel, said that member nations "agreed that the blame for the strikes lay squarely with Saddam Hussein," but he added,

"All believed a political solution would have been preferable."

The European response ranged from supportive to skeptical. "The German government, politically, supports the United States," said the German defense minister, Rudolf Scharping. The chancellor, Gerhard Schröder, said that "our solidarity with the United States and Britain" as allies "is beyond doubt."

But the Italian prime minister, Massimo D'Alema, said the bombardment "serves no purpose." His government said it would work for the end of the military intervention and to place the crisis back in the hands of the United Nations.

Prime Minister Wim Kok of the Netherlands said the intervention was dramatic, but added that the Americans and British were best placed to know that it was unavoidable.

The Portuguese defense minister, Jose Vega Simao, said he had "full confidence in the judgment of our British and American colleagues."

Discussion of the attacks dominated a meeting of NATO defense ministers in Brussels, where

the Spanish defense minister, Eduardo Serra, said a "big majority" of his colleagues understood the need for the strikes. But the NATO meeting again pointed to the Europeans' difficulty in reaching consensus about defense policy.

The action found Britain and France on different sides of an argument less than two weeks after they had agreed to cooperate more closely on defense.

While Britain expressed unreserved support for President Bill Clinton, the French cabinet took a more distant view and regretted that diplomacy had not been given a chance.

The French foreign minister, Hubert Vedrine, said that the government was "skeptical about the effectiveness of military strikes."

While noting that Mr. Saddam was to blame, he told the French Senate that he could not understand how the action would accomplish the aim of ensuring that Iraq would not again become a threat to the region.

"France can only regret the way in which the Security Council was deprived of the possibility of holding a normal debate" on the report by the

UN Special Commission for disarming Iraq, Mr. Vedrine said.

President Jacques Chirac said that responsibility for the crisis "lies clearly with the Iraqi president," but added that the crisis would not be solved by air strikes. "The role and the will of France is to do everything to facilitate an end to the crisis," he said.

The conservative Figaro newspaper — which like much of the French press said Mr. Clinton had ordered the strikes to distract from the impending House impeachment vote — commented that even the president "knows bombs are not the solution."

Two former UN employees who resigned over policy toward Iraq criticized the bombardment. Scott Ritter, who resigned from the Special Commission in August, asserted in a newspaper interview that the UN report was a "setup" to give a pretext for the attacks.

He said the author, Richard Butler, the commission's chairman, had been told "to sharpen the language in his report to justify the bombing." The commission did not immediately reply to the accusation.

The former UN humanitarian coordinator for Iraq, Dennis Halliday, said that the bombardment went "way beyond" what the United Nations intended and warned that even if Iraq's entire civilian and military infrastructure was destroyed, the regime could still continue to manufacture "appalling weapons."

Mr. Halliday called the attacks a "very short-term solution with long-term consequences." While President Clinton said one reason for the attacks was to prevent Iraq from menacing its neighbors, most of them were cool or hostile to the military action.

China expressed its "deep shock" over the bombardment.

President Jiang Zemin was quoted as saying that the use of force would bring "severe consequences to the situation in the Gulf region and international relations." China also slammed the UN special commission for withdrawing its inspectors without consulting the Security Council.

Among America's allies in Asia, Japan, South Korea, Australia and New Zealand expressed outright support for the bombardment.

Blair Defends Clinton Timing As Courageous

By Warren Hoge
New York Times Service

LONDON — At No. 10 Downing Street, Prime Minister Tony Blair told associates on Wednesday that he was eager to take on any critics of his friend President Bill Clinton, and on Thursday he came out swinging in the House of Commons.

Pausing in his earnest report to members of Parliament about air raids over Iraq by British Tornado jets, Mr. Blair suddenly stood back from the dispatch box podium and let fly.

"I want to deal with one thing straight on," he said. "There are suggestions that the timing of military action is somehow linked to the internal affairs of the U.S. I refute this entirely."

"I have no doubt at all that action is fully justified now, and that is my strong personal view. I know that President Clinton reached the same conclusion."

There were heavy cheers around the hall, but he was not finished.

"Had he acted differently out of regard to internal matters of U.S. politics," Mr. Blair continued, "that would have been a dereliction of his duty as president. Instead, and not for the first time, he has shown the courage to do the right thing, and he has my full support."

The stirring expression met with no criticism in the Commons, where even Conservative members with little sympathy for Mr. Clinton have expressed puzzlement and dismay over the intrusion of American domestic politics into an international crisis.

Twenty-four hours earlier, the spokesman for Mr. Blair said that if anyone questioned the president's motivation for attacking Iraq on the basis of his "personal difficulties," the prime minister would produce a "robust" defense.

It is not the first time that Mr. Blair has stood, shoulder to shoulder with Mr. Clinton at a moment when his behavior has called into question his performance as president. Mr. Blair visited Washington last February when the evidence of Mr. Clinton's relationship with Monica Lewinsky was first emerging, and he marked the occasion with an effusive toast of personal testament at a White House dinner.

"I am delighted to call Bill Clinton a friend and I believe what's more important than anything else is that he does a good job as president," he said in an interview at the time. "And for that he deserves all our support, so it's as simple as that, really."

Russia Assails Unilateral Deed

By David Hoffman
Washington Post Service

MOSCOW — The bombing of Iraq set off a torrent of criticism from the United States on Thursday from Russian leaders who deplored the unilateral attack.

The Communists, the largest faction in the lower house of Parliament, the State Duma, vowed to put off once again a vote on the long-delayed START-2 strategic arms treaty.

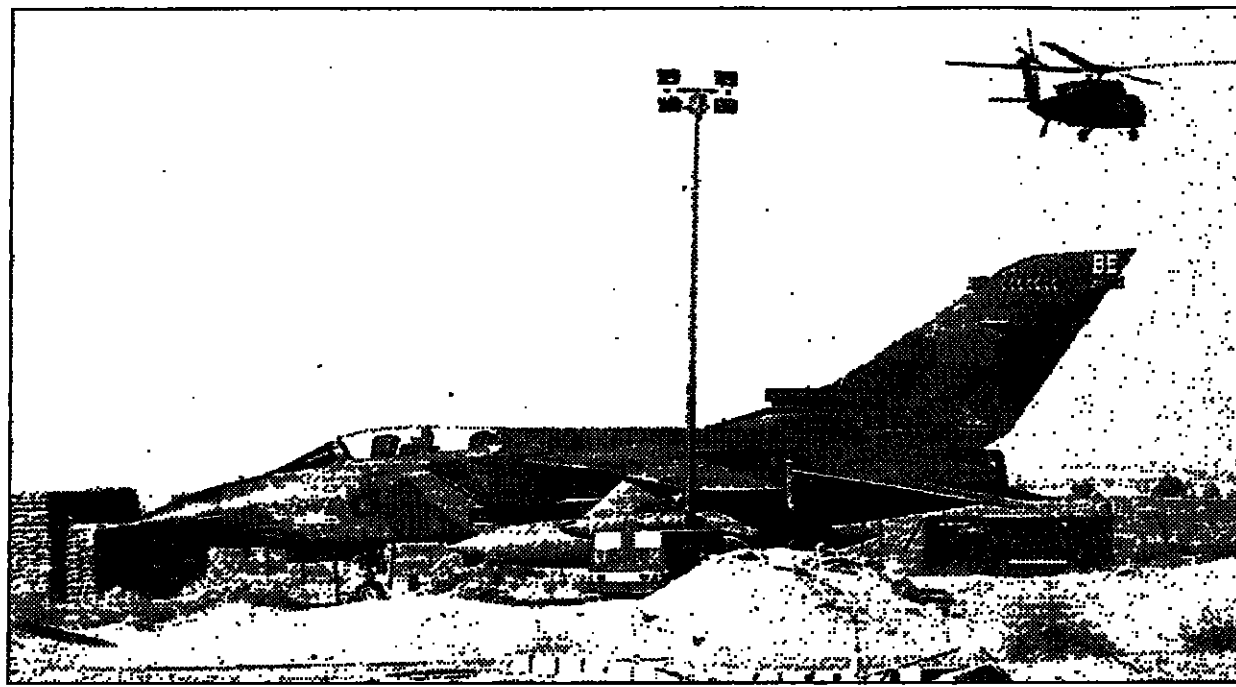
The criticism bore a familiar ring and reflected pique, expressed across the political spectrum, at the go-it-alone approach of the United States and Britain. Russia has suffered a painful erosion of its international prestige since the Soviet collapse, and the latest action against its historic ally in Baghdad once again underscored Moscow's weakness.

President Boris Yeltsin said in a written statement that the bombing evoked "a feeling of indignation and profound alarm," that it "grossly violated" the United Nations charter, and that it "caused serious damage" to the previous work of the UN weapons inspectors.

Mr. Yeltsin was later shown on television awkwardly standing around a map of Iraq on a table in his Kremlin office, and saying the attack was "simply unacceptable for us."

The biggest fallout may be yet another postponement of a vote on the START-2 treaty, which was signed in 1993 but has yet to be ratified by Russia. Prime Minister Yevgeny Primakov has been lobbying the Duma vigorously for its passage on grounds that it would benefit Russia to cut the large U.S. advantage in strategic weapons. For the first time in years, a vote seemed imminent in recent weeks, and some leading Communists said they would support it.

But after the bombing, others called for a delay. Sergei Prikhodko, a deputy head of the Kremlin administration, said that "one may well give up on" ratification.



An American helicopter and a British Tornado bomber at the Ali Salem air base in Kuwait on Thursday.

IRAQ: 'Right Thing to Do,' Clinton Calls Decision as 2d Wave Hits

Continued from Page 1

He also said several industrial targets had been hit, including a plant that makes brake fluid for cars, one that produces batteries, and a training center for mechanics. He said all were under the UN monitoring regime, and all had passed earlier inspections.

The news of the air strikes added a stunning dimension to the impeachment drama already gripping Washington, and brought furious criticism of Mr. Clinton from some congressional Republicans.

In a striking departure from the rule that politics stops at the water's edge, the Senate majority leader, Trent Lott of Mississippi, said shortly before the attacks were launched that he could not support them. "Both the timing and the policy are open to question," he said. On Thursday, he expressed his support for U.S. troops in the Gulf.

Americans strongly supported the military action, according to polls by CBS and ABC. In the CBS poll, about 80 percent said they favored the strike. According to the ABC survey, 62 percent said attacking Iraq was the right thing to do.

The U.S. and British strikes were expected to continue at least into the weekend.

Mrs. Albright said that American officials were "sensitive to the beginnings of Ramadan," the Muslim holy month, which starts this weekend, but that the campaign would "continue to its completion."

Mr. Clinton and Mr. Blair said President Saddam Hussein's failure to cooperate with UN inspectors had made the confrontation inevitable. Mr. Clinton said the attacks were timed to "have maximum impact with minimum risk to our own people."

Some legislators said the attacks could succeed only if they forced Mr. Saddam from power. But Mr. Cohen denied that Mr. Saddam had been personally targeted.

Mr. Cohen said there had been no American casualties. Nor were any British casualties reported.

The surprise attacks on Iraqi targets evidently destroyed large numbers of surface-to-air missiles before they could

be moved, reducing the danger to allied pilots. Mr. Cohen, who spoke even as the second wave of attacks was under way, said that satellite and U-2 spy plane photographs showed that the first wave of strikes had inflicted "severe" damage.

The targets included some of Mr. Saddam's 80 or so presidential palaces in different parts of the country.

General Henry Shelton, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said 50 targets were hit in the first wave of attacks. He showed reporters an aerial photo in which a building he said was the military intelligence headquarters had been reduced to rubble.

Some critics of the attack said it was unclear what the U.S.-British strategy would be once the smoke has cleared. Mr. Blair said that if Mr. Saddam "will not see reason," then Britain and the United States would assure that he could not rebuild his military capability.

U.S. Navy ships launched more than

200 guided Tomahawk cruise missiles, and navy EA-6B fighter jets fired HARM missiles at Iraqi radar installations.

Follow-up attacks will involve up to 300 cruise missiles, Pentagon officials told The Associated Press.

Some 2,000 U.S. Army troops and 35 aircraft were en route to the Gulf region on Thursday, Mr. Cohen said. The troops are bound for Kuwait, where they will join 3,000 U.S. soldiers already in place.

"This is a long-term effort," Mr. Cohen said. "It's not going to happen overnight."

Former President Jimmy Carter, who had previously opposed military strikes on Iraq, defended Mr. Clinton.

"The allegations by some members of Congress that the president of the United States and his security advisers would launch an attack on Iraq for political purposes are both unjustified and ill-advised," Mr. Carter said in a statement.

Tomahawk Cruise Missile

The Navy's Tomahawk cruise missile is a "smart" weapon because it is a long-range, precision weapon. It is provided with a highly accurate, difficult-to-detect weapon that can be launched from air, land or sea, miles away from the target. The 1991 Gulf War marked the first time the missiles were used in combat.

1. GUIDANCE SYSTEM
2. WARHEAD
3. AIR FRAME
4. SOFTWARE
5. FUEL CELLS
6. AIR INTAKE
7. PROPULSION

CHARACTERISTICS
Service: U.S. Navy
Contractor: Hughes Aircraft Co.
Cost per unit: \$750,000
Length: 18 feet, 3 inches
Weight: 2,630 pounds
Speed: 550 mph
Warhead: 1,000 pounds

How it works
The missile is launched from a ship or a submarine. After launch, a solid propellant engine takes over for the cruise portion of flight. It has a guidance system with components that make course corrections for pinpoint accuracy. To determine the missile's location, one component compares terrain with satellite photographs of Earth stored in on-board computers. Another component receives data from satellites that provide guidance.

CLINTON: New Clash on Impeachment

Continued from Page 1

support and unity of purpose," he said. During an earlier appearance with fellow Democrats, he denounced the idea of proceeding with impeachment now.

"That is wrong!" he shouted. "That is wrong! That is wrong! That is wrong!"

The White House reserved judgment on the new scheduling plans, saying that it was up to lawmakers to decide. Because neither side wants to hold an impeachment debate in just an hour, though, they were hoping to find some accommodation before the House resumes Friday morning.

With the impeachment debate off the table for the day, the House briefly put aside its partisan skirmishing to approve on a 417-to-5 vote a resolution expressing support for troops in the Gulf.

Voting against were Representatives Ron Paul, Republican of Texas; John Conyers, Democrat of Michigan; Mark Sanford, Republican of South Carolina; Barbara Lee, Democrat of California; and Cynthia McKinney, Democrat of Georgia. Representative Elizabeth Furse, Democrat of Oregon, voted "present."

The outgoing speaker, Representative Newt Gingrich, Republican of Georgia, spoke out strongly in favor of the strike against Iraq, diverging sharply from the Senate majority leader, Trent Lott, Republican of Mississippi, the House majority leader, Richard Armitage, Republican of Texas, and other Republicans who raised suspicions about the timing of the bombing on the eve of impeachment.

"We have a chance to say today to the world: No matter what our constitutional process, whether it is an election eve or it is the eve of a constitutional vote, no matter what our debates at home, we are, as a nation, prepared to lead the world," Mr. Gingrich said on the House floor.

For his part, Mr. Clinton partly dismissed the criticism from Mr. Lott and others, calling his decision on Iraq "the right thing for the country" and denying on Thursday that he would ever order military action to help shore up his crumbling domestic position.

"I don't think any serious person would believe that any president would do such a thing," he said before an Oval office meeting with Defense Secretary William Cohen, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Henry Shelton, and other advisers.

"I don't believe any reasonably astute person in Washington would believe that Secretary Cohen and General Shelton and the whole rest of the national security team would participate in such an action," the president continued.

The decision to defer the impeachment vote by a day may only postpone the inevitable.

So few undecided members were left that White House strategists could figure no plausible way to forestall impeachment and the Senate trial to follow.

"It's fair to say it's over," said a White House adviser. "It's an illegitimate partisan vote and we'll win it in the Senate."

The sudden eruption of war with Iraq touched off a fierce debate at a closed-door caucus meeting of House Republicans on Wednesday evening at which dozens of members stood up to talk about what they should do about impeachment.

Underlying the discussion was a strategic concern over whether a delay would alter the political equation that has turned so drastically against Mr. Clinton in recent days.

The cynicism about his motives was palpable, particularly given that the House that takes office next month will have five more Democrats than the present one.

"Some members felt that the president's goal or intent was to get beyond Jan. 6 and force another impeachment resolution," said Representative David Joseph Weldon, Republican of Florida, who supports impeachment. "Others felt that the national mood or momentum had been moving toward impeachment, and if we did not move tomorrow, that momentum would be lost."

The House had planned to convene 10 A.M. Thursday to begin considering four articles of impeachment alleging that Mr. Clinton committed perjury, obstructed justice and abused his power in concealing his affair with Monica Lewinsky in civil and criminal proceedings.

If the House approves any of the articles on a majority vote, it would send the matter to the Senate for a trial, with a two-thirds vote required to convict and remove Mr. Clinton from office.

The Senate majority leader, meanwhile, ruled out a deal short of a Senate trial, such as censure.

"We will go to a trial and there won't be any deal-making," Mr. Lott said in an interview with CNN.

BAGHDAD: Life Goes On in City

Continued from Page 1

city, seemingly oblivious to the fact that another round of strikes was planned for their honeymoon night. Air raid sirens howled several times during the day.

Until the start of the second raids Thursday, damage to the city had been light. None of the major landmarks, government buildings or communications towers in the center of town had sustained any obvious damage, and there had been none of the destruction to electricity, roads and other public works that characterized the first days of the Gulf War.

Public fountains kept running, public school and work hours remained unchanged, and the sculptured flag at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier remained lit.

Iraqi officials are refusing to discuss casualty numbers from the bombing campaign, which began early Thursday in response to what the U.S. and Britain say was Iraq's refusal to cooperate with United Nations weapons inspectors.

Little information has been available here about possible damage in southern Iraq or outside of Baghdad, and after the first bombing in Baghdad government officials overseeing the press had little more dramatic to show than a giant hole in Karada Street, and, at a second site, an house whose windows were blown out and whose doors had been damaged by an explosion of some sort.

Neither damage scene seemed compatible with the force of a cruise missile, but residents along Karada Street and the owner of the house at the other site said that bombs of some sort definitely detonated in their neighborhoods.

"What did I do to America?" asked Jassim Zuweybi, lying in a bed at a monk hospital in western Baghdad, his head bandaged from injuries in the explosion at his home. The incident seriously injured one of his four children, and Mr. Zuweybi said he was at a loss to explain why this was happening.

"During eight years we have given everything to Unscam," he said, referring to the UN Special Commission charged with monitoring Iraq's disarmament. Its issuance this week of a report critical of the Baghdad government triggered the air strike.

"Ask Saddam Hussein to take revenge for me," Mr. Zuweybi said. "I hate the government of the United States."

Iraqi officials reported late Thursday afternoon that the air strike had destroyed a rice warehouse in Mr. Saddam's home city of Tikrit and that a missile targeted at the southern city of Basra had strayed and exploded on Iranian soil.

At a news conference Thursday night, Foreign Minister Mohammed Said Sahhaf echoed the sentiments of the wounded man, contending that the U.S. response was far out of proportion to the problems that had developed between Iraq and the weapons inspection team.

In the commission's report to the Security Council, the chief arms inspector, Richard Butler, concluded that by refusing access to buildings like the headquarters of the ruling Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party, Iraq was keeping the commission from finishing the job it was delegated at the end of the Gulf War: to oversee the dismantling of Iraq's chemical, nuclear and biological weapons programs.

OPINION/LETTERS

Impeachment Charade Defies Majority's Will

By Gloria Steinem

NEW YORK — It is time to register outrage and principled opposition to the impeachment charade now going on in Washington. Yet few protests are receiving much media attention.

For example, on Sept. 24 in Washington, the leaders of major women's groups such as the National Organization for Women and the National Council of Negro Women — plus social justice groups like the United Farm Workers and the Asian-Pacific Legal Consortium — came together in a historic coalition to oppose President Bill Clinton's resignation or impeachment.

Mr. Clinton's "misdeeds are not of the nature of high crimes and misdemeanors," the groups said. "As feminist leaders, we will not stand idly by while a Congress made up of nearly 90 percent men attempts to remove the first president elected by women voters." They also noted that a 90 percent white Congress would be impeaching a president supported by more than 90 percent of African-American voters.

The press mostly ignored the press conference. Instead, media pundits repeated the right-wing line that feminists did not support Paula Jones — though we always supported her access to the courts, despite the borderline nature of her case of sexual harassment.

What the media does report is a very hypocritical word in the unrepresentative House Judiciary Committee, plus opinions from talking heads neatly divided into those for and against impeachment. This is supposed to serve objectivity. In fact, it only gives the false impression that public opinion is equally divided.

We know it is not. The huge majority of Americans opposes Mr. Clinton's impeachment. The press attributes even that irreducible result of public opinion polls to some notion of economic comfort, as if Mr. Clinton were being supported only out of the selfishness created by a good economy.

In fact, those who support Mr. Clinton are the most who benefit from this economy the least. Opposition to impeachment exists because people around America are smart enough to know that "Impeach Clinton" and even "Impeach Hillary" bumper stickers have been sold by right-

wing groups ever since the Clintons entered the White House.

People are smart enough to figure out that members of Congress voting for impeachment have a suspiciously high correlation to those supported by lobbies such as the tobacco industry, the American Rifle Association and anti-abortion organizations — all sworn enemies of Mr. Clinton and his policies.

Do I agree with all of Mr. Clinton's policies? Of course not. I'll never forgive him for signing the welfare bill. But I also know that he has stood for equal economic and human rights far more than his Republican opponents — and I know which interest groups are angered by Mr. Clinton's policies.

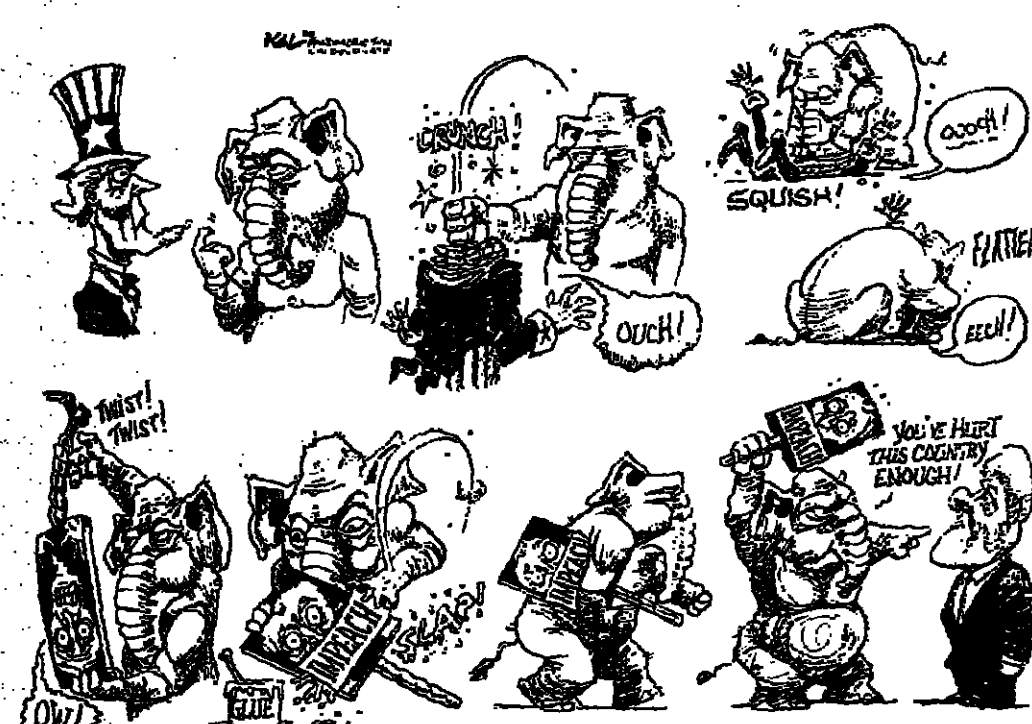
I also know that even if President Ronald Reagan or President George Bush had been guilty of the same sexual misjudgment — and then tried to conceal it — I would not have supported their impeachment. Indeed, when the right-wing Representative Bob Bennett of Maryland, was accused of a sexual episode with a young man, the only question I and other feminists asked was: Was this welcome sex or not? Because if it was welcome, then it was not sexual harassment. And it was not our business.

My fear is that the right wing is distorting and defeating sexual harassment law in much the same way that they have tried to distort and defeat affirmative action law.

Remember, these are the same people who opposed sexual harassment law in the first place. Phyllis Schlafly testified in Congress against it and insisted that if women just dressed and behaved like ladies, they would not be harassed. But now, the right wing is trying to use its version of the law to peacefully assassinate a president. In the process, they have convinced more than 60 percent of Americans that sexual harassment law has gone too far; that it forbids all sex in the workplace, all sex between unequals, even all sex outside of marriage — none of which it does or should do.

In fact, sexual harassment law has nothing to do with welcome sex. The use of the word "welcome" is an innovation of this law. "Consent" can be coerced. "Welcomeness" cannot.

Mr. Clinton should not have had to testify about Monica Lewinsky. The enjoyment of mutually wel-



come sex does not constitute a "pattern and practice" of unwelcome sex. Unequal status may be suspicious, but it is not dispositive, as lawyers say. We are not the sex police. Any idea that this law allows such policing will only defeat a good and much-needed code.

We should also call for an end to the humiliation of Ms. Lewinsky. This young woman broke no law, yet found herself surrounded by FBI agents and denied access to her own lawyer. She has been forced to reveal the most intimate details of her private life — under threat of her own imprisonment, and even the imprisonment of her mother.

We owe it to her and ourselves to protest against the jokes, humiliation and ridicule she has suffered. She has the right to privacy, sexual expression and legal

protection — and if she does not, neither do we.

We should also admit that we may be projecting our own experience. For example, I have two women friends who were sexually abused by their fathers. They have a hard time believing that Ms. Lewinsky could have done what she did voluntarily. I know another woman who was done in by a faithless husband. Mr. Clinton's example hits a bruise, and she reacts with pain and anger. I have had neither experience, and so can believe that Ms. Lewinsky acted voluntarily.

It is clear that many people in the media hate Mr. Clinton, even though they agree with him on issues more than I do. It drives them crazy that Mr. Clinton has won the most powerful position in the world without the proper

"masculine" behavior.

For example, his origins were lower-class; he married a wife who was at least his equal; he refused to go to war, and he actually listens. In other words, Mr. Clinton refused to play the usual male game — and won anyway.

But none of these personal reasons can justify impeachment.

Mr. Clinton's behavior — self-defeating and reckless as it was — does not constitute "treason or other high crimes and misdemeanors." If he is impeached, any partisan majority will be able to impeach any president. Is that what we want?

The author is editor and founder of Ms. magazine. This column was distributed by The New York Times Syndicate.

In Good Times or Bad, The Dice Must Roll On

By David Spanier

LONDON — All the world's a casino and every one is a player. Or so it seems these days.

I have been gambling in Moscow, where it takes more courage to walk out of a dubious dive with your winnings than to venture through the doorway. Among the high rollers in London, I have been pampered by periwigged footmen bearing caviar and champagne. And my first resolution for the New Year is to stay at Bellagio, the latest wonder on the Las Vegas Strip.

Christmas in a casino? No problem. Once taboo, gambling resorts have become family destinations for the holidays.

Everyone can gamble to their heart's content. And if they cannot get to a casino or a lottery terminal, electronic gambling, outside the jurisdiction of any regulatory authority, is available on the Internet.

The pro-gambling forces in the United States have recently scored a great victory at the ballot box.

MEANWHILE

when opponents of gambling were routed across the country. New opportunities to play the lottery and slot machines are on the way. The same momentum holds true across Europe. In Britain, the lottery is the most successful commercial enterprise since Sir Walter Raleigh brought tobacco to the court of Queen Elizabeth I, with 30 million people buying tickets every week.

What is going on? Why the worldwide fever to gamble? The answer is that people have always liked to gamble. Even in prehistoric graves, some of the dice were found to be loaded. But in previous times, the desire to gamble, which has flared up in most societies, has usually been suppressed by church or state.

In the Middle Ages gambling was regarded as a sin against the laws of God. A century ago, gambling was seen as a vice, a social crime like prostitution.

But now anything goes. It is simply part of the leisure industry. There are obvious dangers — and not just for the unfortunate compulsive gambler. For casinos, there may soon be too much gambling for all the competing interests to survive. The recent battle between the Indian casinos in California, wanting to move into slot machines, and the

Nevada gaming industry trying to stop them, was probably the most expensive campaign in American history. Costing over \$100 million, it was on a par with the two main candidates' expenditure in the last presidential election.

Las Vegas lost this one, but the resort is always one step ahead. The casinos have discovered that they can make as much money, if not more, from other attractions like theme parks and rides.

Win some, lose some. The Asian crisis has hit the high end of the market, especially London's casinos. The Asian high rollers are staying away. But no one doubts that when the good times roll again, the gamblers will return.

On the gamblers' side, how to control the current gambling fever? A major debate has now begun in America in the form of the National Gambling Impact Commission, instigated two years ago by Reverend Tom Grey, an evangelical foe of gambling. Mr. Grey talks a good game. But he knows, he does not have a prayer against the massed forces of Nevada, led by the former Republican fundraiser Frank Fahrenkopf.

The most commission will do, observers believe, is to put forward a series of mild recommendations, which Congress can then mull over at leisure. One of these proposals could be to provide help to gamblers who have a "problem," which is the polite term used for compulsive gambling.

The American casino industry realizes it had better get moving, by funding research and treatment for problem gamblers. The consequences of doing nothing is demonstrated by what happened to the tobacco industry. Fines, lost markets, pariah status.

Across Europe, governments see casino gambling as a way of attracting foreign currency and stimulating growth. Well, most of them do. Turkey recently closed its casinos on moral grounds. And gambling is strictly forbidden in Israel. But gamblers are now being lured from the Promised Land to a casino in Jericho in the Palestinian Authority. These days, there is always somewhere new to win (or lose) your money.

The writer, a journalist in London, contributed this column to the International Herald Tribune.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Mysterious Ads?

Mysterious and disturbing advertisements have recently appeared in your paper. They consist of seemingly innocent quotes from the Old and New Testaments. What could be more uplifting in this holiday season? But what an interesting selection of passages: The Hebrews worshipping the golden bull; Jesus chasing money-changers from the temple; the selfishness and hypocrisy of the Pharisees. There is no explanation given; no commentary on the quotations. Whether these ads are as

well-meaning as they seem, or actually more insidious, is debatable. What is clear, though, is that they subtly forward an anti-Semitic agenda by reminding readers of the stereotypes that Jews are greedy, focused on gold and self-serving.

LAINE AYRE
Warsaw.

Lawyers at Risk

In response to "Lawyers in First Smoking Settlement Win \$8.2 Billion in Fees" (Dec. 14):

The article stated that the courts deemed the sums justified because

of the "risk" the lawyers had taken. Police officers, firefighters, teachers and nurses run risks. All these now very rich attorneys did was make an investment.

TONY DAJER
Paris.

Kenneth Starr's Crisis

It is Kenneth Starr and not Mr. Clinton who should be in crisis. Mr. Starr and his staff violated the privacy of an individual and his freedoms.

WILLIAM J. CASSAN
Montpellier, France.

BOOKS

A RAGE TO LIVE

A Biography of Richard and Isabel Burton
By Mary S. Lovell. 910 pages.
\$39.95. Norton.

Reviewed by Dennis Drabell

TO the public he was a bluff explorer of Africa, a naughty translator of "The Thousand and One Nights," a dazzling linguist, an unblinkingly honest travel writer and the first Christian to penetrate Mecca on the same footing as an ordinary Muslim pilgrim.

But to many of his peers in British diplomacy he was a pernicious and arrogant wastrel, always forsaking his post to wander around the country in which he happened to be Her Majesty's representative, sticking his nose into places — a boy brothel, for one — whose existence no decent Englishman would even acknowledge.

His wife, meanwhile, is remembered mostly as the bluenose who consigned his manuscripts to flames after his death.

In her impressive dual biography, Mary Lovell takes aim at this conventional portrait of Richard Burton (1821-1890) and his wife, the former Isabel Arundell (1831-1896). Judged by the book, Lovell is a great explorer herself — of archives. She has gained access to material overlooked by all previous biographers (and there have been many).

As inasmuch as the Burtons had a decided talent for making enemies, many of whom wrote and blabbed about them after they were gone, Lovell sets the record straight time and again.

One of the author's accomplishments — refurbishing Isabel's reputation — may have surprised even her. In a biography of the adventuress Jane Digby, Lovell cast some aspersions on Isabel.

Having sifted through the evidence more carefully, she now finds much to admire in this daughter of an old, wealthy and extremely well-connected Catholic family, who, smitten by Richard at first sight, never wavered in the face of her mother's determined opposition to the marriage. (His family, upper middle class, came down almost as hard on the proposal.)

Isabel, however, turned out to be Richard's mainstay. Not only did she love him without stint and put up with his absences for years at a stretch, but she organized his papers, dealt aggressively with his finagling publishers, and marshaled kin and contacts to advance his cause. She became a skilled writer herself, with a special knack for polemics, and among Victorian unions the Burtons' was uncommonly equal. This was a couple who fenced together until age made them put up their rapier.

The source of Richard's knack for seeing people against him was threefold: his pronounced gifts as an athlete, a writer, a leader of men, a learner of languages; his insistence not only on satisfying his curiosity about sex in all its permutations, but also in sharing what he discovered with his fellow Victorians, and his inability to suffer fools quietly. Among many examples of his arrogance, Lovell cites Burton's publication of letters in which he had warned his superiors that local resentment of British presence in and around the Red Sea might lead to disaster, along with "details of the subsequent massacre (1858) . . . in which every Christian in (Jeddah), including the British Consul, was murdered. Some highly placed men in the Indian government (which had jurisdiction over Jeddah) were made to look fools; which was Richard's intention, of course. He never seemed to learn that it was not possible to publicly bait his superiors without mak-

ing enemies of them." At least Richard told the truth, though; many of his detractors, as Lovell makes clear, lied blatantly in order to bring him down.

Which they never quite did. He failed to get the promotions he deserved on the Eastern posts he was most suited for. But he enjoyed a long sinecure as consul in Trieste, where he had time for travel, writing and the translating on which his literary reputation mainly rests.

A set-piece of any book on Richard Burton is the tragic episode of his relations with John Speke, his cohort on an early expedition to trace the Nile to its source. Here Lovell has unearthed no startling new material, but her portrait of Speke is compelling just the same.

As for Isabel, Lovell refutes those who have claimed she engaged in an orgy of burning after Richard died. Aside from some personal papers that she had every right to destroy, the main item she got rid of was Burton's translation of "The Perfumed Garden," an erotic manuscript. Isabel's reasoning may not have been ridiculous — she claimed that even though Richard would have published the translation had he lived, without him to defend it against charges of lewdness it would only have done him a disservice — but one still finds it hard to forgive her for denying posterity a work on which her husband had labored for years.

Mary Lovell is not a graceful writer: How she could have published four biographies before this one and still not know the difference between "infer" and "imply" is a puzzle. But she is a good storyteller, and her mastery of so much new research makes this the best book about the Burtons yet.

Dennis Drabell, a Washington writer and editor, wrote this for The Washington Post.

BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

PLAYERS of the highest class usually win major titles before they are 30, and sometimes before they are 20. One of the few to hit the headlines later in life is Rits Shugart of Pebble Beach, California, who became a life master two decades ago but then devoted herself primarily to her family.

She returned to the game seriously in 1991, and began a successful partnership four years ago with an English star, Andrew Robson. She recently won her first national title, the Reisinger Board-a-Match Teams. The other team members were Tony Forrester of England and Geir Helgemo of Norway.

Routine defense would have permitted South to make a doubled contract on the

diagramed deal from the Reisinger semifinal, but Shugart did not defend routinely. She held the East hand, and opened one club with a hand on which many would prefer one diamond. Her partner, Robson, eventually doubled

WEST
♠ K1063
♥ 10653
♦ K3
♣ 75

EAST (D)
♠ 105
♥ —
♦ AQJ92
♣ AA109632

SOUTH
♠ A9
♥ AQ975
♦ 764
♣ KQ1

Neither side was vulnerable. The bidding:
East 1♣ — 1NT — 2♥
South 3♦ — 3NT — 4♠
West bid the club suit.

three hearts, a close action which he might not have taken at imp scoring.

The club eight was led to the ace and the ten was returned. South won and led his remaining club winner, which was ruffed low by Robson. West, and overruffed by dummy. South cashed the ace and king of spades, ruffed a spade and led a diamond to the king. East took her ace and cashed the queen, leaving this ending shown at left.

At this point, a routine return of the diamond jack would allow South to succeed. He would ruff in dummy, ruff a spade, and lead the heart queen — better than the nine — from his hand.

This would endplay West, but Shugart did not allow South the opportunity. She led a club, giving South a ruff and shuff that he did not need while permitting Robson to score

both potential trump tricks.

Beating the contract won the board for the Shugart team. In the replay Forrester and Helgemo defeated three diamonds doubled by one trick. That was hair-raising: the defense prevails, but only just, after starting with the spade ace, a spade to the king, and a third spade.

WEST
♠ Q
♥ KJ4
♦ 10
♣ —

EAST
♠ —
♥ —
♦ J92
♣ 96

SOUTH
♠ AQ7
♥ 4
♦ 7
♣ —

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EUROPE

Tax-Free \$2 Million Gift Buys Irish a Political Scandal

By James F. Clarity
New York Times Service

DUBLIN — A scandal has emerged in Ireland over assertions of corruption and nepotism at the highest level of government.

National debate began after the disclosure of an official ruling that a former prime minister, Charles Haughey, owed no taxes on a \$2 million gift from a businessman and that the decision was made by a brother-in-law of the present prime minister, Bertie Ahern, whose political career was fostered by Mr. Haughey.

In the Parliament on Wednesday, members of the opposition party

Fine Gael accused the Fianna Fail party of Mr. Ahern and Mr. Haughey with corruption and nepotism. Opposition members said that a tribunal stated unequivocally last spring that the \$2 million was taxable as a gift.

"This is incredible," said the Labour Party leader, Ruairi Quinn. Another member shouted "This is corruption!" as the speaker, Seamus Pattison, tried to gavel the house to order.

Mr. Ahern, under a fusillade of hostile questioning, denied any involvement in the case, adding: "He is my brother-in-law, but I had no knowledge about this until I read about it in this morning's news-

papers." Opposition members said that Ronan Kelly, the tax official who made the ruling, was appointed by Mr. Ahern when the prime minister was finance minister several years ago.

Nora Owen, a former justice minister and a member of Fine Gael, the largest opposition party, said: "The public are outraged by what they read in the newspapers."

She called for an investigation of how the decision was made and demanded to know whether Mr. Ahern would order revenue officials to appeal the decision in court.

The investigation is an embarrassment for Fianna Fail, but it was barely noticed until Wednesday.

Most, but by no means all, of the people interviewed on Irish national radio and television in Dublin, Cork and other areas said Mr. Haughey should pay the tax or be sent to prison.

Mr. Haughey's supporters say that as prime minister in the 1980s he cut excessive state spending and debt, telling people to tighten their belts.

They noted that the economy improved steadily under him and that he eliminated income taxes for writers and artists and increased the number of old people who received free public transportation passes.

His opponents say it is now clear that he was not tightening his own belt at the time. He owns two large

estates, a yacht and several thoroughbred race horses.

Prime minister for nine years, Mr. Haughey, 73, was already under investigation for accepting the \$2 million from Ben Dunne, a former chief executive of the country's largest department store, which bears the family name.

Mr. Haughey acknowledged that he had taken the \$2 million, but added that he gave no favors for the money. He has not been charged with any crime. But the investigation already under way is expected to answer the question on many minds: How did a man who spent his entire life in politics, at modest salaries, become a man of ostensible wealth?

Parliament Shows Anger At EU Panel

STRASBOURG — The European Commission, the executive agency of the European Union, faced the prospect of being dismissed on Thursday after the European Parliament said it had mismanaged the 15-nation bloc's finances.

The European Parliament rejected the commission's handling of the 1996 budget on Wednesday amid allegations of fraud and mismanagement.

The rejection led to calls for a censure of the commission as it enters its last year under the presidency of Jacques Santer. The commission had said that a rebuke from the Parliament would leave it "seriously undermined."

The Parliament's majority Socialist group announced the motion of censure, which it said was necessary to establish whether the assembly still had confidence in the 20-member executive, whose term is not due to expire until the end of 1999.

"The one thing we are not prepared to tolerate given the work on hand over the next three months is that we are confronted with a lame-duck commission," said the Socialist leader, Pauline Green. "Either they have confidence or they do not and they leave."

There have been several previous attempts to censure the commission, but none have succeeded. For the



Pauline Green of Britain, leader of the European Parliament's Socialist group, speaking Friday in the Strasbourg assembly on a motion of censure introduced against the European Commission.

commission to be dismissed, a censure motion would have to be carried by a two-thirds majority of votes cast in the 626-member assembly.

Wednesday's vote on the EU's 1996 budget would normally have been a procedural affair. But deputies, alarmed at a string of reports of taxpayers' money being mismanaged, notably in the humanitarian aid budget, wanted to use the occasion to slap the commission on the wrist.

The vote came amid a wider debate among the 15 EU nations about financing the bloc's \$100 billion budget. Germany wants to reduce its

payments, while Britain is under pressure to review its £2.1 billion (\$3.5 billion) annual rebate as part of the negotiations on future EU funding. France is concerned that it may be called on to reform its agricultural policy, while other nations will be less affected by reforms.

The debate is part of the Agenda 2000 discussions on reform of the financing and institutions of the EU as it prepares to take in the countries of Eastern Europe.

A credible commission that enjoys the support of the European Parliament is crucially important in

view of the Agenda 2000 negotiations, which should result in a political agreement in March next year, the commission said.

Of the 518 European lawmakers that voted, 270 rejected the commission's handling of the 1996 budget, while 225 endorsed it.

"It's very clear the vote was a loss for the commission," the budget commissioner, Erkki Liikanen, said in Strasbourg. But, he added, the Parliament "has not asked the commission to resign, and the commission has no intention of resigning." (Reuters, Bloomberg, AP)

New Fighting In Kosovo Is Reported

Compiled by the Staff from Dayton, Ohio

PRISTINA, Serbia — Fighting was reported in several villages in Kosovo on Thursday, with at least two guerrillas killed in the latest test of the province's cease-fire, Serbian and international sources said.

The Serbian-run Media Center said that the police had killed the ethnic Albanian guerrillas in Glodjane, near Decani in western Kosovo, on Thursday morning.

International observers reported that they had heard gunfire and mortar fire in the same region and said it was apparent that Serbian police officers were trying to root out Kosovo Liberation Army guerrillas.

The Media Center said the police had been looking for men accused of being involved in the fatal shooting of six Serbian youths in a bar in the western town of Pec this week.

About 1,500 people have been killed and 250,000 left homeless in the fighting this year between Yugoslav forces and the separatist guerrillas in the southern Serbian province. It has a 90 percent ethnic Albanian population.

A fragile two-month-old cease-fire has been tested several times this week.

In Belgrade, meanwhile, the Serbian information minister, Alexander Vucic, announced an imminent government crackdown on Albanian-language media in Kosovo, the Tanjug news agency reported. (Reuters, AP)

Suspect in 1982 IRA Bombing In Hyde Park Wins Appeal

LONDON — A man convicted of a deadly 1982 IRA bombing in London's Hyde Park had his conviction quashed Thursday, a month after he was paroled early from prison under terms of the Belfast peace accord.

Danny McNamee, 38, had proclaimed his innocence ever since he received a 25-year sentence for the blast, which killed four members of the British Army's Household Cavalry and seven horses.

Prosecutors relied heavily on traces of Mr. McNamee's fingerprints found on remnants of the bomb and two other arms caches to convict him in 1987.

But three Court of Appeal judges accepted that it might have made a difference had jurors been told that many more prints from a known Irish Republican Army bomb-maker were on the debris, too. (AP)

Bonn Nuclear Curb Reported

FRANKFURT — Chancellor Gerhard Schröder has agreed with chief executives of German utility firms on a plan to phase out nuclear energy, Der Spiegel magazine reported Thursday.

The report, which gave no sources, followed a dispute between Mr. Schröder and his Green coalition partners this week. The ecologists accused him of casting doubt on the coalition's plans to eliminate nuclear power.

The plan was a major plank in the election platform of the Greens, who formed a coalition with Mr. Schröder's Social Democrats after elections in September.

Der Spiegel said that according to the plan, 19 German nuclear power stations will be closed within 20 years.

Government officials were not available for comment. (Reuters)

EU Opens Talks on Fishing

BRUSSELS — European Union fisheries ministers opened negotiations Thursday to set catch quotas for next year, trying to find a balance between the demands of the fishermen and the need to protect dwindling stocks.

Proposals from the EU's Commission for sizable cuts in the quotas diverge greatly from demands for increases from major fishing nations. The differences led to an almost immediate suspension of the full meeting to allow for a series of bilateral sessions.

EU officials said the ministers were far from agreement as they assessed about 100 separate quotas for various types of fish in waters around Europe. (AP)

Changes Pledged in Turkey

ANKARA — Turkey's Islamist leader vowed Thursday to introduce constitutional change if his party won coming elections, a pledge likely to escalate wrangling with the country's secularists.

Turkey's influential armed forces have led a secularist campaign against Islamist activism. "Rearrangement of the constitution is on the agenda of the Virtue Party," Recai Kutan, the organization's leader, said at a news conference to mark the first anniversary of his party.

Turkey is scheduled to hold general elections in April, and the Islamists are expected to do well. (Reuters)

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William Gaddis, Novelist, Dies at 75

By Mel Gussow
New York Times Service

William Gaddis, 75, author of "The Recognitions" and "JR," and a novelist of immense range, complexity and satirical humor, died of prostate cancer Wednesday in East Hampton, New York.

Mr. Gaddis was one of the most innovative and demanding of writers. His four published novels stand tall and totemic in the field of modernist literature. For "The Recognitions," his first novel, in 1955, he was compared to James Joyce. With other books, critics drew parallels with Malcolm Lowry and Herman Melville. Aspects of all three work, but most of all he was, in Cynthia Ozick's words, "an American original."

Reviewing Mr. Gaddis's 1985 novel, "Carpenter's Gothic," in The New York Times Book Review, Ms. Ozick looked back on "The Recognitions" as "the most overlooked important work of the last several literary generations." It was, she said, "a vast fiction about fabrication and forgery, about the thousand faces of the counterfeit, and therefore, ineluctably, about art and religion."

In her judgment, "Carpenter's Gothic" marked a turning point in Mr. Gaddis's career; admirers hoped that it would bring him a wider audience.

Despite rapturous reviews and a covey of awards (including two National Book Awards and a MacArthur "genius" grant), he was not destined to have a popular readership. He was often considered one of the least read of important American writers. But his books have become contemporary classics.

As his reputation grew, he was surrounded by academics seeking symbols and offering deep analyses of his work. He maintained his equilibrium, saying, "What can I do if people insist I'm cleverer than I think I am?"

Observing Mr. Gaddis at a writers' conference in the Soviet Union in 1985, Louis Auchincloss said that he was "reserved and quiet, impeccably clad, with the patient composure of a man of the world and the piercing eye of a wit," and that he spoke "in measured tones of the small sales that the serious novelist might expect."

Mr. Gaddis grew up in Massapequa, New York, and went to boarding school in Connecticut and Farmingdale High School on Long Island. He studied English literature at Harvard University, and wrote stories, poems, essays and reviews for the Harvard Lampoon. In his senior year, he was asked to resign from the

'The Recognitions' and his three other works made him 'an American original.'

college after he and a friend were involved in an altercation with the police.

In New York, he worked as a fact checker at The New Yorker, and spent his free time in Greenwich Village with Allen Ginsberg, Jack Kerouac and other writers of the Beat Generation. Leaving New York, he traveled through Mexico and Central America, joining insurgents in Costa Rica during a brief civil war. Subsequently he went to Spain and Africa, gathering experience and material while working on "The Recognitions."

He continued work on the novel through the early 1950s. Published in 1955, it received generally unappreciative reviews. In a brief one in The New York Times Book Review, Granville Hicks said that the author had "ostentatiously aimed at writing a masterpiece," but had written a book that was "no more than very talented or highly ingenious or, on another level, rather amusing." Mr. Gaddis said the book's reception was "a sobering experience."

It was 20 years before he published another novel, but during the interval, "The Recognitions" was reprinted in a paperback edition and was published abroad, and it began building an underground reputation for the author. To continue his fiction, Mr. Gaddis supported himself by teaching and writing nonfiction on assignment. For four years, he worked in public relations for the Pfizer pharmaceutical company. In 1963 he won a National Arts and Letters grant and, four years later, another from the National Endowment for the Arts.

By the time "JR" was published in 1975, Mr. Gaddis had achieved the recognition that had been denied him upon publication of his first novel. In The New York Times Book Review, George Stade characterized the theme of "The Recognitions" as "the multiple and paradoxical relations between recognition and forgery," and said the book had raised the question whether "all human products and activities are each no more than items in a series of copies for which there is no original."

The reviewer continued that "as much, and more," could be said about "JR," and concluded that "no recent novel I know of with anything like the fullness or accuracy of 'JR' is at once so inventive and subtle in the structure of relations among its parts."

Praised by William Gass and other writers, "JR" won the National Book Award. "Carpenter's Gothic" followed in 1985.

At the time of the book's publication, the author said in an interview that there was no underlying scheme to his novels.

"There is an obligation not to bore or to bore yourself in doing your work," Mr. Gaddis said. "If a writer is bored, the reader will be, too." For "A Frolic of His Own" in 1994, a book about plagiarism and intellectual property, he won his second National Book Award.

Bob Edwards in Edinburgh?

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THE FREQUENT TRAVELER

Taking the Long Thin Airlines

By Roger Collis
International Herald Tribune

TWO events this month — the demise of Swiss World Airways, a fledgling carrier based in Geneva, and a new Swissair service from Basel to New York-Newark — show that it is very difficult for start-up airlines to succeed and that there is demand for direct flights on "thin" trans-Atlantic point-to-point services — what I call "regional long-haul" routes.

Travelers look for fast connections through user-friendly airports, avoiding megahubs like London-Heathrow, Paris-Charles de Gaulle, Frankfurt, Amsterdam and Zurich, unless that is where they are starting out from or want to go.

Swiss World Airways started flying on Sept. 10 with a daily flight operated with a leased Boeing 767-200 ER — a much-needed service since Swissair virtually orphaned the region 18 months ago by moving most of its long-haul services from Geneva to Zurich, keeping just one daily flight to JFK in New York, against which SWA competed directly with cheaper, more flexible fares in first, business class and economy.

SWA stopped flying two weeks ago with alleged debts of 3 million Swiss francs (\$2.25 million) — having used up half its capital before it took to the air. It

might have been wiser to have started with Geneva-Montreal or Geneva-Washington rather than compete head-on with Swissair to New York.

SWA had hoped to follow the example of Belgium's City Bird, which took off in March 1997 with low-cost flights between Brussels and Miami, Orlando, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Las Vegas and Mexico City. You simply call the airline to buy a one-way ticket with your credit card and show up at the airport — for 40 to 60 percent less than major carriers. City Bird struck a deal with Sabena whereby City Bird passengers can buy cheap one-way onward connections through Brussels to 48 destinations in Europe. SWA relied on point-to-point traffic. City Bird reported its first profit for the third quarter of 1998.

Meanwhile, on Dec. 17, Swissair started a six-times-a-week service between EuroAirport — Basel-Mulhouse-Freiburg — and Newark as a code-share with Delta Air Lines and Crossair, Swissair's regional subsidiary, using an Airbus A310 with 42 business-class and 163 economy seats. Crossair is developing an extensive "hub and spoke" network through EuroAirport to around 50 European destinations, which enables travelers in, say, Nuremberg, Bilbao, Dresden or

Toulouse to connect painlessly to New York — avoiding the megahubs, not only for short flights in Europe, but also for long-haul flights.

EuroAirport to Newark is the first of a dozen "long thin" services that Crossair plans to operate next year from EuroAirport — to Buenos Aires, Atlanta, Mexico City and Charlotte, North Carolina.

Skymark Airlines, the first of a new breed of low-cost Asian carriers, is set to cut fares on major routes in Japan. Skymark, which models its operations on that of the U.S. low-cost pioneer, Southwest Airlines, has been granted a license to begin services between Tokyo and Fukuoka. It will open the route with Boeing 767s with a fare half that of its competitors — Japan Airlines, All Nippon Airlines and Japan Air Systems. The airline is also seeking permission to fly to Hokkaido and Okinawa.

Two other low-cost carriers are applying for licenses and more are expected to follow. Success depends on being able to secure slots at peak times. Otherwise, travelers may choose convenience over cost.

Roger Collis can be reached by fax at (33-4) 93-74-77-92.

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BRITISH AIRWAYS/ QANTAS	London to Singapore	Five-night package for £489 (\$826) per person on twin-share includes round-trip flights with BA or Qantas and accommodation in the Mandarin on Orchard Road. Some restrictions apply. Valid for departures from London Heathrow from Jan. 18 to Feb. 11. Trailfinders, (44-171) 938-3939.
WHERE TO STAY		
BEIRUT COMMODEORE	Beirut	Fifty percent discount on rooms and suites. Until Feb. 28. (961-1) 350-400.
EQUATORIAL	Shanghai	"Superior" rooms (single or double) for 596 yuan (\$72) night with tax and service includes 50 percent off food and beverage. (86-21) 6248-1688.
HILTON GARDEN INN	Ciudad Juarez, Mexico	Introductory rate of \$69 per room per night for weekend stays. Good until Jan. 31.
HOLIDAY INN	Asia-Pacific	Up to 50 percent off published rates at 76 participating Holiday Inns and Crown Plaza properties in Australia, China, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand. Settle your bill with an American Express card for a room upgrade; late check-out till 4.30 P.M., breakfast. Until March 31.

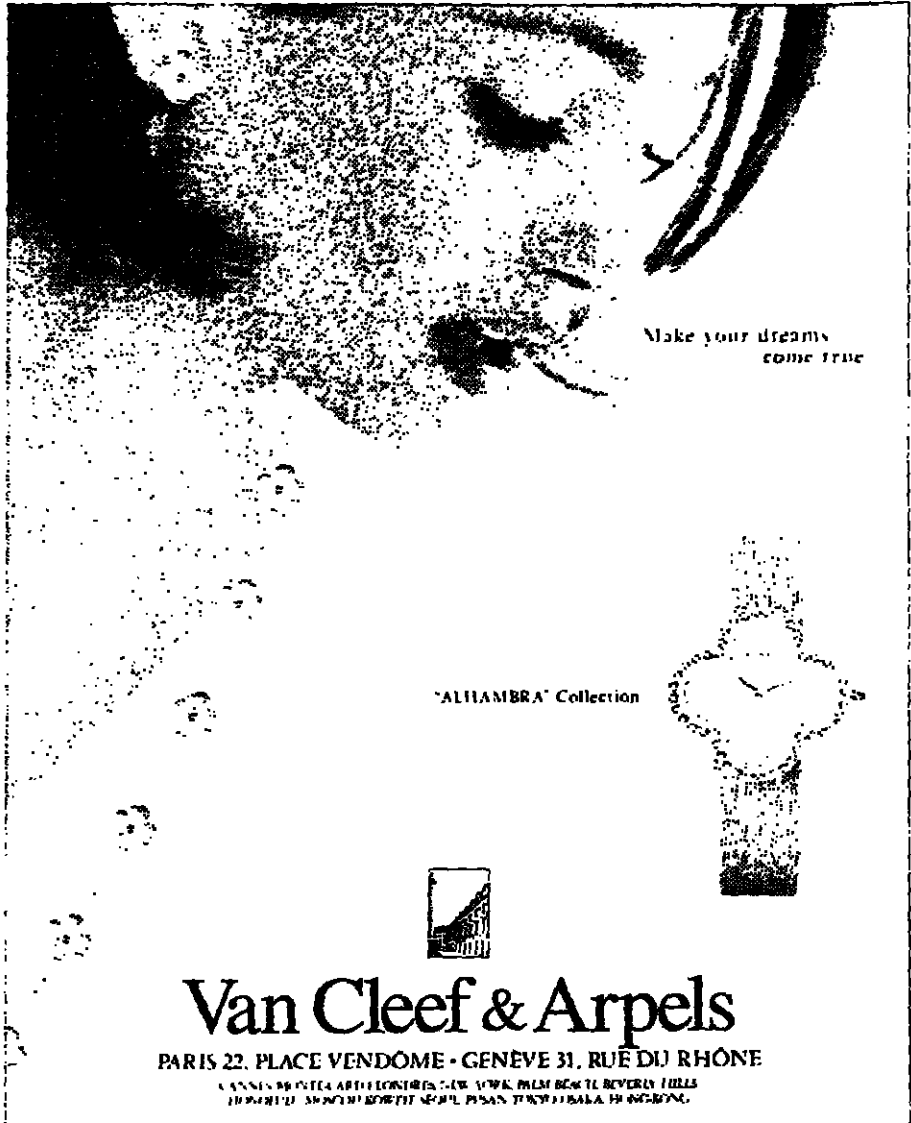
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ARTS GUIDE

CLOSING SOON

Some museums may be closed on holidays. We suggest you call before going.

BRITAIN
LONDON
Tate Gallery, tel: (171) 887-8000, open daily. Continuing to Jan. 17: "John Singer Sargent: Portraits, Impressionist Paintings and Venetian Landscapes." www.tate.org.uk
Victoria and Albert Museum, tel: (171) 938-8349, open daily. To Aug. 31: "Silver and Symp. Highlights from the V&A's Collection: Photographs by Avedon, Fenton, Steiner, Gaps and younger talents from Britain, Europe and the United States." www.vam.ac.uk
CANADA
OTTAWA
National Gallery of Canada, tel: (613) 960-1965, open daily. Continuing to Jan. 3: "Songs on Stone: James McNeill Whistler and the Art of Linography. Approximately 100 linographs, etchings, pastels, watercolor drawings and paintings by the British painter (1834-1903)." www.national.gallery.ca
FRANCE
PARIS
Jeu de Paume, tel: 01-47-03-12-50, closed Mondays. To Jan. 31: "Jean Pierre Raynaud: Eighty works by the French artist (born 1939) best known for the monumental guided flower pot that was at the Forbidden City in Beijing before it was installed near the Centre Georges Pompidou in Paris. Toit de la Grande Arche, tel: 01-49-07-27-57. Continuing to Jan. 31: "L'Amie de la Russie dans ses lignes." On loan from the Kremlin Museum in Moscow, a selection of 16th and 17th-century icons.
GERMANY
FRANKFURT
Museum fur Kunsthandwerk, tel: 069-212-34037, closed Mondays. To Feb. 28: "The Southern Neighbors: Early Ceramics and Bronzes from Vietnam." More than 60 early Vietnamese ceramics and bronzes from German, American and British collections.
JAPAN
OSAKA
Museum of Oriental Ceramics, tel: 06-223-0055, closed Mondays. To Feb. 21: "Masterpieces of Chinese Ceramics from the Percival David Collection, London." After being shown at the Osaka Museum, the 80 pieces of ceramics from the collection of the Foundation will also be exhibited in Fukushima and Yamaguchi as a celebration of Anglo-Japanese relations.
WAKAYAMA
Wakayama Museum of Modern Art, tel: (0734) 368-690, closed Mondays and Dec. 28 to Jan. 4. To



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EDITORIALS/OPINION

INTERNATIONAL
Herald Tribune

PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

War and Impeachment**A Justified Attack**

After hearing for months about Bill Clinton's ability to compartmentalize issues, the country and the world now have to match that difficult trick. By attacking Iraq as House members gathered in the capital to consider his impeachment, Mr. Clinton could not avoid the impression that he is blurring the boundaries that must separate America's foreign conduct from its domestic political turbulence. But that accusation would in large part be unfair. The confrontation with Iraq has played out on its own timetable and happened to reach a decisive point on the eve of the House impeachment debate.

No one but Mr. Clinton knows all the factors that went into his decision to order air strikes, and historians may long speculate whether the threat of impeachment propelled him to exercise his powers as commander in chief. Trent Lott, the Senate majority leader, and a handful of other Republicans immediately questioned Mr. Clinton's motives, a startling departure from the unity that usually accompanies American military action. That is not the only political custom suspended in Washington this strange and eventful week.

But viewed outside the prism of impeachment, the decision to launch cruise missiles against Iraq was fully justified. Just weeks after Saddam Hussein had again promised to give international inspectors unhindered access, Iraq barred them from sites suspected of housing chemical and biological arms. Richard Butler, the chief UN inspector, reported Tuesday that effective inspections were impossible.

Given the prospect that Baghdad

would rebuild its arsenal of toxic weapons while UN inspectors were handcuffed, Mr. Clinton and Prime Minister Tony Blair of Britain had no choice but to use military force to destroy portions of Iraq's arms industry. With the Islamic holy month of Ramadan beginning this weekend, military action had to start or be postponed until late January.

Cruise missiles and the bombing runs that will follow cannot eliminate the threat, but they can severely reduce Iraq's ability to make new weapons or use its old ones. It is essential for American and British forces to limit civilian casualties. Washington and London must also be mindful of the uneven international support for the attack. There are limits on how long and how hard Iraq can be hit before foreign support diminishes.

In the likely event that Iraq refuses to allow inspections to resume after this attack, the Security Council must develop new ways to restrain Baghdad. Mr. Clinton outlined a strategy of containment, promising to use force again if necessary and to maintain economic sanctions on Iraq. These measures may not be popular among all members of the Security Council, but less forceful policies will not work as long as Saddam remains in power.

Mr. Clinton made only glancing reference to the gathering storm of impeachment in his address on Wednesday evening, but the convergence of events clearly left Republicans disgruntled and distrustful. The attack on Iraq may delay but will not end the debate over Mr. Clinton's fate or change any votes already committed to impeachment. Congress needs to resolve that constitutional crisis as soon as possible.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

Separate Crises

In blocking United Nations arms inspectors from doing their jobs, Saddam Hussein gave the United States no choice but to respond militarily. That the Iraq crisis has peaked just as the United States faces its own political crisis cannot but raise questions here and abroad about America's motives, and those of President Bill Clinton. But the coincidence of events cannot be allowed to distract attention from the need to deal with the long-term threat posed by Saddam and his defiance of international law.

Saddam's army invaded and occupied Kuwait. The United States assembled an international coalition that expelled his troops from that sovereign nation. In defeat, and as a condition of cease-fire, Saddam promised to destroy, under international inspection, his biological, chemical and nuclear weapons components and the missiles that could deliver such weapons. For more than seven years he has done everything he could to violate that promise — to subvert UN inspections and preserve his poisonous weapons. It was a report this week from the UN inspectors detailing Saddam's continuing defiance that determined the timing of America's response in firm partnership with its British allies. To delay now would be to give Saddam time to disperse his illicit weapons and would, by bumping into the observance of Ramadan, give possible offense to Muslims.

Dulling the Edge of Truth

At an October conference called "The Claims of Memory," the novelist Cynthia Ozick is reported to have said, "The aims of the imagination are not the aims of history." These words come to mind in the case of the Nobel peace laureate Rigoberta Menchu. A new book by the anthropologist David Stoll now refutes a number of claims in Miss Menchu's widely celebrated memoir, "I, Rigoberta Menchu," published in 1983. These include her assertions that the adversaries in her family's land disputes were wealthy landowners of European extraction, that she witnessed mass executions by burning, and that, as a young woman, she worked as a laborer and political organizer.

The question this case raises is how best to serve the aims of history. For the most part, the crimes Miss Menchu reported, including widespread political murder and torture, were real crimes, even if she learned of some of them from others. The struggle to which Miss Menchu has devoted herself — asserting the rights of indig-

enous peoples — is a struggle in which most of her immediate family died and for which she herself has suffered. The criminal oppression of indigenous peoples in Guatemala cannot be disputed nor can the impact of her example. Why, then, the sinking feeling upon learning that some of the essential facts in "I, Rigoberta Menchu" are not true?

In a war between unequals, especially when the more powerful side is rampantly duplicitous, we expect that truth will be on the side of the innocent. Miss Menchu has clearly chosen what might generously be called "representative" truth, where the sufferings of a people are conflated in the tale of an individual life. Her achievement has been diminished because she altered the truth, perhaps merely in order to make her story more emblematic. That sad fact mitigates none of the crimes committed against Guatemalan Indians. Testimony is the people's history, but it is only as powerful as it is true.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

For the EU, the Focus Now Must Be on Russia

By Martti Ahtisaari

The writer is president of Finland.

HELSINKI — As the leaders of the European Union met in Vienna last weekend, the crisis in Russia loomed large over the summit meeting. Developments in that country have shown that there are no quick solutions. Unhealthy structures cannot sustain a market economy, and democracy requires a civil society in which to grow on. Laying the foundations will take time, and sustainable solutions will need the support of the Duma and the people.

In its natural resources and its long tradition of research and education, Russia has the basic elements necessary for a takeoff. However, democracy and a genuine market economy can thrive only under the rule of law. Rampant crime is a clear and present danger, as the assassination of the reformer Galina Starovoitova shows.

It is clear that Russia will be able to extricate itself from its present crisis only through interaction and cooperation with the rest of the world, especially its European neighbors. In order to get on top of its difficult situation, Russia has to come to grips not only with its economy, but also with its geography and its history.

After Finland and Sweden joined the

European Union, Russia became its next-door neighbor. The EU acquired a Northern dimension. Both the Union and Russia will gain from keeping the doors open. A natural interdependence exists in Europe. Take energy: In the coming decades, the European Union will be more and more dependent on imported energy, especially natural gas. In the north, Russia has huge gas deposits, for which the only feasible market is the European Union.

With its economy more and more dependent on foreign trade, Russia needs export harbors on the Baltic. Transit traffic will generate income for states on the coast of the sea and bring stability to the entire region.

Borders do not stop pollution, nor do they bar epidemics, drugs and crime. Cooperation is the key to success in fighting them, as experience has shown on the 1,300-kilometer Finnish-Russian border, now an EU-Russian frontier as well.

All these elements of interdependence are included in the European Commission report "A Northern Di-

mension for European Union Policies," which was presented to the EU meeting in Vienna.

Even short of its Soviet empire, Russia remains the largest country on Earth. The Soviet Union — nominally a federal state — tried, and failed, to keep its huge territory in the iron grip of a central command. By contrast, Russia is now on a course toward true federalism.

Russia's constituent parts — republics and regions — are called "subjects" of the federation, and the record shows that they have come a long way from their Soviet-era status as mere objects of central power.

The regions' governors are now elected directly by popular vote and are responsible to the electorate for their actions. Accordingly, the regions wield more real power than they have ever done in the past. The elements for building a functioning federation with genuine devolution of power are now in place. Turning what was once a monolithic unitary state into a federal one is a historic achievement.

Finland is in favor of the EU strongly supporting the development of regional and local administration and strengthening grassroots democracy and civil society in Russia. Decen-

tralization by design will prevent disintegration by default.

There are very few nations that can face their history — all of its periods — with equanimity. Yet, that is what they have to do in order to be at ease both with themselves and with their neighbors.

Finns were impressed when President Boris Yeltsin came to Helsinki in 1992 and laid a wreath at the monument to Finland's war heroes, acknowledging that the Soviet Union had acted wrongfully in attacking our country in 1939. His admission sealed the reconciliation between Finland and the new Russia. There are still sensitive events in our history, but they no longer burden our relationship. The fact that Finland was never occupied and that its independence and constitutional continuity were never encroached upon made reconciliation easier.

Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania will join the European Union in the coming decade. They were occupied in World War II and lost their independence for fifty years. The role of the new Russia was crucial in the restoration of their sovereignty. Now it must be possible to move on toward well-functioning relations in the European spirit.

International Herald Tribune

Russians Struggle to Come to Grips With the Communist Past

By Fred Hiatt

WASHINGTON — On a chilly August evening in 1991, a Moscow crowd cheered the removal of a statue of "Iron Felix" Dzerzhinsky, brutal founder of the Soviet secret police, from its pedestal before KGB headquarters.

As I look through news archives now, I find this event described, in subsequent months and years, as the work of "angry crowds" or even an "angry mob." But I was in Dzerzhinsky Square (as the plaza then was known) that August night, when the Soviet Union was crumbling, and I know there was no mob. As a municipal crane methodically lifted the heavy statue and swung it toward a waiting truck, onlookers remained orderly and good-natured, a bit awed at their presence in history. A folksinger sang sad Russian ballads over a scratchy loudspeaker. People smoked and shivered and chatted quietly and, at the climactic moment, chanted patriotically: "Russia! Russia!"

It is a small example of how history can get written and then rewritten, and I came across it only because Russia is still rewriting its history in a much more momentous way. Earlier this month,

the Duma, or lower house of Parliament, voted to return Iron Felix to the perch in the square that no longer bears his name.

The Duma vote, seven years after a seemingly definitive repudiation of Bolshevik terror, reflects how confused and divided Russians remain about their past. That in turn helps explain why they remain confused and divided about how to shape their future.

Think what our emotions would be if Germans continued to worship Hitler, installing his mummified corpse in a mausoleum by the Reichstag.

Unimaginable, of course. Yet that is about where Russians are in dealing with their history. Stalin is no longer in Red Square, but Lenin remains on reverential display, a bit too yellow but neatly coiffed and costumed. Most Russians would like to inter him in a cemetery — a proper Christian burial would be a fitting punishment — but too many others still want him in his humidity-controlled glass case.

How can this be? Lenin created the system in which — as one elderly man

told me the night Dzerzhinsky came down — "there was practically not a family in this entire country in which someone didn't suffer — either in jail, or in the labor camps, or shot." The man's uncle had spent 15 years in the gulag because he had owned a few shares of stock in the 1920s.

For decades, Russians were taught that Lenin was the good-hearted, all-seeing father of the nation; that Dzerzhinsky's secret police courageously defended peace and order; that a boy who ratted on his father to the KGB was a model of moral heroism. Now they are told otherwise. But whom to believe — especially when the new historians also seem to have ushered in a period of danger, uncertainty and poverty in many people's lives?

"We are all guilty," said Alexander Yakovlev. An architect of Mikhail Gorbachev's *glasnost*, Mr. Yakovlev has headed for the past decade a commission intended to "rehabilitate" victims of Soviet repression — to restore the reputations of millions upon millions unjustly sentenced to their deaths in Siberia, to award pensions to those who miraculously survived.

Punishing wrongdoers is not on his

agenda, but even so his commission's seemingly innocuous work is often stymied, Mr. Yakovlev said. To this day, he said, he cannot get key documents Stalin's crimes. Children born and raised in the gulag qualify for no compensation. Russians are so uninterested, so unwilling to face their past, that Mr. Yakovlev appealed to an audience in Washington, at the Holocaust Memorial auditorium, for help in publishing documents he has uncovered.

All this matters. If Russians are not sure that it was wrong to round up peasants who owned more than one cow, how can they agree on reprivatizing land? If Dzerzhinsky is a hero, what chance can there be for civil liberty and the rule of law?

That same autumnal evening in 1991, another man, a 56-year-old archery coach, told me he had faith, for the first time, that Russia would be free. But he also warned that the process would take time. "After 70 years, you can't be free all at once," he said.

Dzerzhinsky is not back up yet; opposition to his return is strong. But the coach's warning might have been more right than even he expected.

The Washington Post

Clinton's Motives Are Pure — as Are Congress's

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — Has Bill Clinton at long last had a change of heart about Saddam Hussein? Or is his sudden hawkishness — on the eve of Impeachment Day — a trick to buy time, delay the vote on spurious national security grounds and play for a break in the House?

A mark of the degree of distrust in the president's word, developed over years of listening to evasions, half-truths and outright lies, is the fury of frustrated Republicans on Capitol Hill.

On Wednesday night they heard him invoke "the fear of force" against the dictator who for years has had no reason to

fear Clinton force. "The cost of action," he intoned, "must be weighed against the price of inaction." So true — just as it was true in the spring, when he chose inaction with the UN's Kofi Annan, and true recently when he flinched at the last minute and gave Saddam a cheap victory by recalling an air strike.

But then we have to ask ourselves: Would any U.S. president, even in political extremis, stoop to risking lives to cling to power? Holding summit meetings to affect public opinion is par for the course, but launching hundreds of cruise

missiles will cost lives and invite retaliation. No matter what I think of Mr. Clinton's motives and methods, I cannot bring myself to think that.

Assuming only patriotic motives, then, what do we make of "Desert Fox," the first American military operation named after a Nazi-era German general? What is its mission, and how long will it last?

One clue comes from the reason given for the attack at impeachment time. The president tells us that it would have been a mistake to "initiate" it during Ramadan, Islam's holy month.

That starts Saturday. Unless it is deemed not "profoundly offensive" to continue bombing during Ramadan, that limits the attack to a few days.

Despite the heavy rhetoric and the televised sight and sound, the timorous mission has not changed. With off-again-on-again bombing, Mr. Clinton still hopes to "contain" Saddam, to persuade him to readmit inspectors, to finance indigenous rebellion, to plead with the United Nations to maintain sanctions. It is a strategy of half-measures.

Barring a lucky hit, a few days — or even weeks — of bombs will not eliminate the Iraqi dictator's threat to every civilized country. Air power may temporarily "degrade" but not knock out his capacity to produce germ and poison-gas weapons, nor will bombs destroy the well-dispersed Republican Guard. Even as we annoy him from above, he will produce a weapon of mass destruction somewhere down below. And then he will tell us to stop or else.

Only the credible threat of another invasion of Iraq is likely to stimulate a successful coup. No such unpopular Gulf buildup will be in the works during the Clinton administration. That can have been kicked to the next president.

Now to the impact of the impeachment-Eve Desert Foxness on Mr. Clinton's personal fortunes. The last-ditch, fall-back argument of his defenders

is that House action would "paralyze the country." That has just been demolished by Mr. Clinton's acceptance of Saddam's invitation to bomb his people into Arab martyrdom.

The answer to the national-paralysis bogeyman can be found in these punitive air strikes. The House, with a bow to seemliness, will delay an impeachment decision for a bit. Then, as Mr. Clinton declares a famous victory in the war process (following his getting things "back on track" in the peace process) the House will coolly proceed with the impeachment process.

We are in a period of half-measures. The military half-measure Mr. Clinton is taking in Iraq is unlikely to depose Saddam, which is a bad thing. But the political half-measure Congress is taking in Washington — with the House impeaching and the Senate chastising but not removing Mr. Clinton — is a good thing.

So conducting our foreign and domestic affairs, we show the world that the United States is able to exert military power abroad while calling to account the abuse of executive power at home. Up to a point, we can chew up a dictator and cheer a president at the same time.

Credit Clinton with pure motives in doing too little, too late. Credit Congress with equally patriotic motives in doing just enough and on time.

The New York Times

Mo Udall's Infectious Laughter

By E. J. Dionne Jr.

WASHINGTON — President Bill Clinton is not the first chief executive to have problems with Congress. "I have been told I was on the road to hell," Abraham Lincoln once said, "but I had no idea it was just a mile down the road with a dome on it."

Nor is Mr. Clinton the first American to wonder about the relationship between the Republican Party and the Almighty. "The 1928 Republican Convention opened with a prayer," Will Rogers wrote. "If the Lord can see his way clear to bless the Republican Party the way it is been carrying on, then the rest of us ought to get it without even asking."

To which a Republican might retort, deploying the words of former Representative Clare Boothe Luce: "A Democratic president is doomed to proceed to his goals like a squid, squirting darkness all around him."

Morris K. Udall collected these and hundreds of other stories and one-liners. The former congressman died last Saturday and left us with what his home state paper, the Arizona Republic, called "a legacy of decency and dignity." Mr. Udall had been battling Parkinson's disease for years. Perhaps Providence timed his passing to coincide with this dismal moment in our national life and to remind us that politics and political leadership can be ennobling.

Remembering Mo Udall is to recall that civility is not the enemy of principle and courage. It is also to know that laughter is the tonic of a free society, the great ally of democracy's spirit. Humor is the enemy of pretension, bloviation, self-importance and despair.

"In times of national

tragedy, disappointment or defeat, political humor can assuage the nation's grief, sadness or anger and thus make bearable that which must be borne." Mr. Udall wrote in his memoir "Too Funny To Be President." And he cited Lincoln: "I laugh because I must not cry."

If Mr. Udall had been listening to the often bloated language of the impeachment debate these last couple of weeks, he might have recalled another Lincolnian, said in reference to a colleague: "He can compress the most words into the smallest idea of any man I ever met."

And while Mr. Udall was genuinely self-deprecating, he was death to the fake humility so common in public life. He would quote Golda Meir's admonition: "Don't be humble. You're not that great."

Mr. Udall's humor was also spontaneous. During his 1976 campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination, Mr. Udall was shaking hands outside a New Hampshire factory in subzero temperatures. Next to him was a volunteer for the campaign of another Democratic hopeful, former Senator Fred Harris. As the Harris volunteer passed over his leaflets, he repeated over and over the Oklahoma populist campaign slogan: "The Issue is Privilege."

Finally, a shivering Mr. Udall turned to the young volunteer. "The issue," Mr. Udall declared, "is pneumonia."

Precisely because Mr. Udall was genuinely funny, it was easy to forget the seriousness of his record. He was a scrappy reformer, a foe of the congress-

sional seniority system, an early advocate of fixing the campaign finance mess, and a civil service reformer before anyone heard the words "reinventing government." The Alaska Lands Act and the Wilderness Act are among his legacies.

He lost one of his eyes when he was 6 years old, in part because his parents could not afford decent medical care. Instead of turning inward in bitterness, he turned outward in commitment and fought all his life to guarantee health insurance to all Americans.

He came close to defeating Jimmy Carter in 1976 for the Democratic presidential nomination. Mr. Udall kept coming in second in the primaries. (Reflecting on the cost of his campaign, Mr. Udall quoted Will Rogers: "Politics has got so expensive that it takes a lot of money even to get beat with.") I've always thought it a great loss that Mr. Udall never reached the White House. His decency, combined with his practical Western progressivism, might have changed the course of our politics.

How many conversations have you heard about how to explain the present crisis to our children? One thing I'll do is tell my kids about a funny, decent and principled man named Mo Udall who made people proud to be engaged in politics.

At the beginning of his book, Mr. Udall cited John F. Kennedy: "There are three things that are real: God, human folly and laughter. The first two are beyond comprehension. So we must do what we can with the third." Mr. Udall used laughter to combat human folly and may God bless him for it.

The Washington Post

IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO**1898: 'Ferdie' Dies**

LONDON — Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild, M.P. for Mid Bucks, died yesterday [Dec. 17]. Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild had been in ill-health, but no serious consequences were apprehended. His death created great consternation in Aylesbury, which he represented in Parliament. Of all the Rothschilds, Baron Ferdinand, or "Ferdie," as he was known among his friends, was perhaps the most popular. In addition to having the honor of close personal friendship with the Prince of Wales, he held a very high place in London society.

1923: Child Custody

PARIS — [The Herald says in an Editorial:] The question of the right of the mother of a child as to its education was decided in the old way in a divorce case in England. It is interesting in

view of the judge's adherence to the historical dogma that the faithful wife is more guilty than the unfaithful husband. Is a mother unfitted to bring her children up by the sole fact that she has broken her marriage vow? This is one question of which the active feminists will seek final solution in the near future.

1948: Christian Trees

TOKYO — The Japanese government has ordered Christmas trees at Japanese railway stations taken down because they violate the law that forbids the state to encourage any particular religion. The Dai Nihon Buddhist Association complained that the trees at the Tokyo central station and twenty other stations were "Christian." The Buddhists contended that since the Japanese rail system is state-owned, the display of trees violated the Japanese constitution.

Herald Tribune

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THURINGIA



ERFURT, BUSINESS HUB OF THURINGIA

The capital is a prime site for business events.

Headquartered in Jena, Jenoptik recently announced that it would hold its 1999 annual general meeting in Erfurt, at the city's new fairgrounds. Jenoptik's decision was gratifying to Rüdiger Schleusner, head of marketing and event management at Messe Erfurt AG, the city's trade fair authority, but it was not a surprise.

"Erfurt is definitely the state's business hub," says Mr. Schleusner. "Companies gravitate to the centers of political and economic power in the state, and that's what Erfurt, thanks to the ministries and other official bodies based in the city, definitely is."

He adds: "I wasn't surprised because our fairgrounds, although only a year old, have already been selected by a large number of out-of-town companies — including the Eisenach-based Opel — for their congresses, meetings and product shows."

Nor is Jenoptik the only Thuringian high-tech power using our facilities. Our trade fairs — which include the new MTT Microelectronics and Optoelectronics — are heavily attended by Erfurt's microelectronics innovators and the state's other new-look companies.

These innovators form a key element of the city's new business community. Their ranks are led by MAZet, founded in 1992 and today one of Europe's leading designers and developers of application-specific microelectronics components and subsystems for industrial automation and communications systems. Other leading high-tech companies in the city include Thesys and X-FAB.

To promote the growth of its clusters, Erfurt set up a Center for Intelligent Sensors and refounded its university. Soon to follow is a major "innovation park."

While the high-tech innovators grab attention, they have not accounted for the bulk of Erfurt's development. That's come from the city's service sector, which doubled in size between 1992 and 1997. Showing particularly fast growth has been the city's financial sector, now comprised of 170 banks and insurance companies.

INDUSTRY LEADS THE WAY TO GROWTH

Continued from page 12

manage commercially exploitable real estate located in the state's communities, among other a wide range of other activities.

The properties' previous owners were everyone from the Soviet Army to East Germany's mammoth industrial trusts, or Kombinate. Many of the properties are crazy-quits of apartment buildings, industrial facilities, even relatively unspoiled bits of nature. As a result, site reclamation and commercialization is very complex and time-consuming.

In 1995, LEG Thüringen also assumed the responsibility of reaching out to the world's investors. Today, LEG Thüringen plays a wide variety of roles — including

property owner and developer, technical consultant and general contractor — in successfully fulfilling its assignment. The corporation is currently carrying out some 250 projects.

If the above responsibilities weren't enough, the corporation was recently given another far-reaching responsibility. LEG Thüringen acquired much of the state's holdings of housing, along with a wide variety of other buildings. The corporation is now the largest landlord in the state.

Undaunted by the range of responsibilities, LEG Thüringen has set itself ambitious goals. They include helping to create 20,000 new jobs, 1,000 affordable apartments and 7,500 construction sites by 2000.

BIG MAGNETISM FROM THE SMALL CITY OF WEIMAR

Construction technology is a specialty.

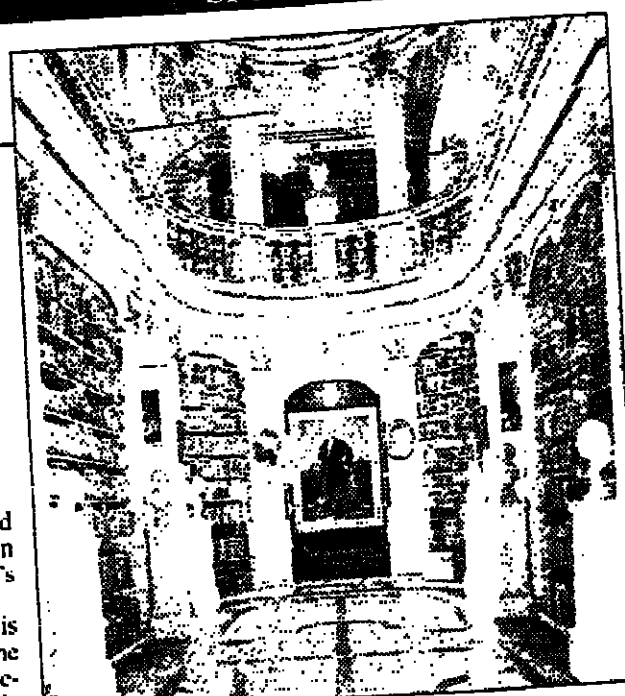
In 1775, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe arrived in Weimar, capping the city's rise to cultural eminence in Europe. The city's population in those days was a tiny 6,000. Weimar's tradition of a very small size going hand in hand with a very large pull has continued to this day.

Today, Weimar's population is ten times larger. According to Friedrich Folger, the city councillor in charge of business development, the city attracts nearly two million visitors a year.

Weimar also manages to pack three post-secondary schools — one of them the Bauhaus University of architecture and construction-related technologies — and no fewer than five industry and business parks in its city limits. Now being developed is another office park, the Schöndorf Classic Center. A wide range of revamped local companies, as well as international corporations

such as Coca-Cola and Schering, have set up shop in the parks and on the city's other commercial sites.

The Bauhaus University is the direct descendant of the famed art and design movement, which was founded in Weimar in 1919. Weimar's business development efforts are currently focused on capitalizing on this tradition and establishing itself as a center of construction technologies and materials engineering. To



The Duchess Anna Amalia Library in Weimar.

that end, no fewer than five institutes have been set up in the city. The technologies being developed by the city range from the use of advanced materials like ceramics in building supplies to achieving of maximal levels of environmental protection in construction projects.

EUROPEAN CULTURAL CAPITAL FOR 1999

Weimar, Europe's cultural capital in 1999, is staging 1,000 events by 5,000 artists from more than 100 countries next year. Highlights will be the city-wide New Year's Eve party, February 19 and the gala formally kicking off the year, and August 28 and the festivities in honor of the 250th birthday of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe.

For more information:

Weimar Tourist Information
Markt 10, D-99421 Weimar
Tel.: (+49 3643) 24 00 0. Fax: (+49 3643) 612 40
Internet: <http://www.weimar.de> (in German)
or the dedicated Web site: <http://www.weimar1999.de>

JENA: FROM MICROSCOPES TO BIOTECH

Jena-made "bio-instruments" are staples of the world's biotech labs and production facilities.

A step-by-step logic explains Jena's rise to being one of Germany's main biotech centers. The city's long-time specialty was making microscopes, telescopes and other devices allowing scientists to see and measure unimaginably small, large and or fast-moving items.

The city's still doing that today. Its electron-scan microscopes and X-ray telescopes are employed to calibrate the distances between individual atoms or the speeds at which far-away galaxies are zooming away from the Milky Way.

These capabilities are in great demand in the biotech sector, whose current thrust is engineering a large amount of ultra-precise, intracellular reactions within very short periods of time. The reactions, in turn, are used to produce and test new substances, the precursors of tomorrow's biomedications. Jena-made "bio-instruments" are now staples of the world's biotech laboratories and production facilities.

There are now 16 such bio-instrument manufacturers in the city. Most of them are associated with the city's two intertwined high-tech leaders, Carl Zeiss Jena and Jenoptik, the latter of which was spun off from Carl Zeiss.

The companies include Clonding Chip Technologies, which has developed a technology capable of placing DNA samples on chips. This "bio-chip" technology will allow for swift creation of DNA libraries. The increasing users of DNA libraries include police tracking down criminals and paleontologists searching for the origins of the human being.

Investment in Jena's bio-instrument cluster is facilitated by Biostart GmbH, a subsidiary of LEG Thüringen. Thüringen's public sector business development corporation, Biostart also helps Jena's companies market their products.



Old and new: The Fischmarkt in Erfurt (top left) and Jenoptik headquarters (above) in Jena.

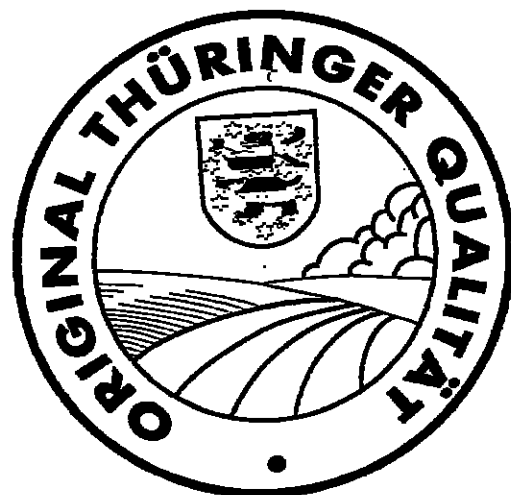
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- a full range of educational institutions

- Erfurt offers:
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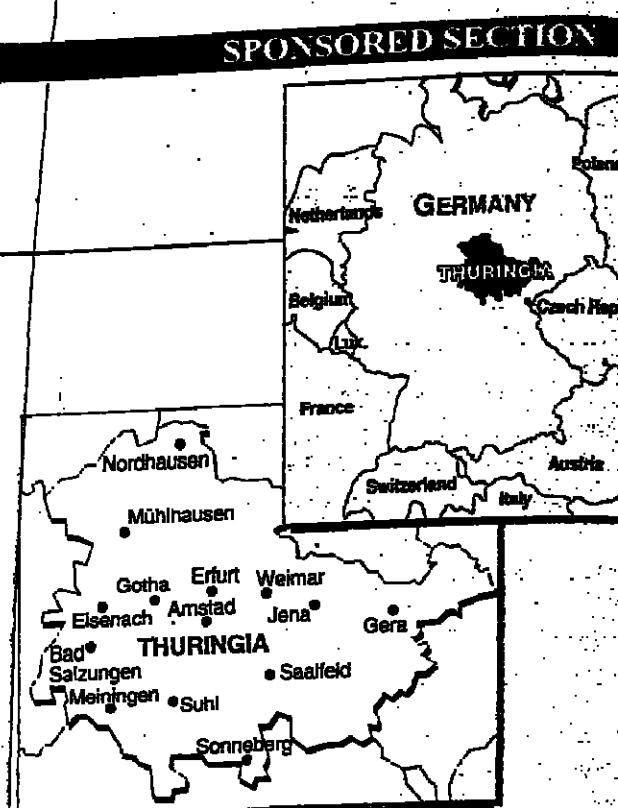
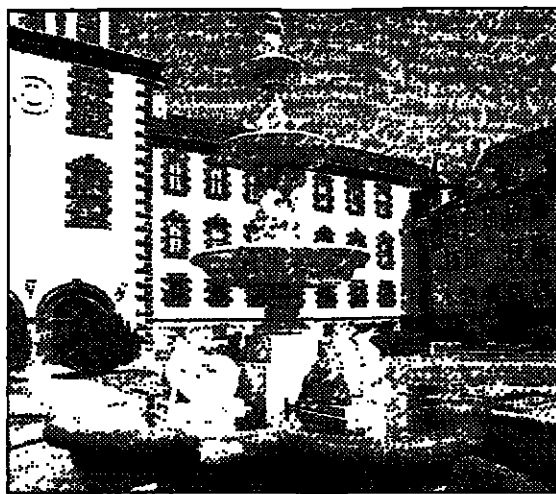


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SPONSORED SECTION

THURINGIA

Thuringia's manufacturing and high-tech industries are having a banner year, and their success is expected to stimulate the rest of the economy in the state, located in central Germany. The state expects many visitors next year, when Weimar will be Europe's cultural capital. Views of Thuringia (clockwise from top left): Arnstadt, Eisenach, Weimar, Jena and Meiningen.



THE THREE SISTERS OF THURINGIA

Jena is known for high-tech; Weimar is a cultural capital; Erfurt is a model of urban redevelopment.

Heading west-to-east, first comes Erfurt, then 20 kilometers (12 miles) later, Weimar. A further 20 kilometers is Jena. Each of these central Thuringian cities is basking in a wave of media attention and commendation.

"Cluster-building" is the current buzzword in economic development circles, and no city has done it better in eastern Germany than Jena, along with Dresden. Centered around the renaissance Jenoptik, indisputably the most successful high-tech company in the east, this small city of 102,000 people has become one of Germany's main centers of innovation in biotech, optoelectronics, microelectronics and M/R (measurement/regulation).

Weimar, Europe's cultural capital for 1999, will host a year-long string of galas and festivals. For more than 200 years, since Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's arrival in the city in 1775, the world's cultivated have been making the pilgrimage to Weimar, which has also been home to Schiller, Kandinsky, Klee, Gropius and other luminaries.

Erfurt is often cited as a role model for urban redevelopment in eastern Germany. It is widely praised for having lovingly restored and revived the Altstadt, its vast historic downtown, and for having provided a satisfactory supply of sites to investors. The state's capital has established itself as Thuringia's prime venue for trade fairs and congresses.

None of the cities is totally satisfied with the gist of the praise. Weimar's representatives point out that their city is more than cultural center, that it also has a thriving high-tech business community.

Erfurt points to its own successful exercises in cluster-building — its focus is microelectronics — and its long and illustrious cultural history.

Jena is proud of its restored half-timbered houses and market squares. The city's message: it's more than a huge research and development facility.

Other Thuringian cities, although noteworthy, have drawn less attention. Among the state's unsung success stories is Ilmenau, 30 kilometers south of Erfurt. Recently ranked number one among Germany's schools of engineering by newsweekly Der Spiegel (and number six in all of Europe), the city's Technical University rivals Jena's as a source of new, market-making products.

The university forms the nucleus of a campaign, managed by LEG Thuringen, the state's business development corporation, to cultivate new microelectronics, life sciences and image-processing companies.

Also worthy of note is Eisenach, the largest net recipient of inward investment in the state. The arrivals of Opel, BMW, Lear, Bosch and other companies have triggered the formation of a major agglomeration of locally owned automotive suppliers and subcontractors.

INDUSTRY LEADS THE WAY TO ECONOMIC GROWTH

Thuringia, the green land of Goethe, Schiller and the Bauhaus, is orchestrating a transformation led by its industrial sector.

Thuringia's industrial sector is growing by leaps and bounds. The challenge facing the German state is translating the success of the manufacturing sector to the rest of Thuringia's economy.

At the end of October, Thuringia achieved a drop in the unemployment rate of 4.1 percentage points to 13.4 percent. It was the largest month-to-month fall ever recorded by a German state. The drop was accompanied by other good news: a rate of economic growth nearly 50 percent above the average of former East German states and the region's highest share of exports.

Bernhard Vogel, the state's prime minister, knows where this growth comes from. "Our manufacturing sector is modern. It's the engine of economic development in Thuringia," he stated in a recent interview with the daily Süddeutsche Zeitung.

The economy's engine
As of September 30, the total value of new orders secured by Thuringia's manufacturers was up 21 percent over the previous year. The best-performing industrial group was capital goods, up 25 percent. Also showing strong rises were manufacturers' sales, up 13 percent.

1998's results come on the heels of a 12.2 percent net rise in output in 1997 by Thuringia's manufacturers, the highest among Germany's 16 states.

"Equally gratifying is the mix of products issued from our manufacturing facilities," says Reinhold Stanitzek, speaker of the board of management of LEG Thuringen, the state's business development corporation. "It's made up of automobiles, microelectronics facilities, biotech devices and other state-of-the-art products. The mix is as advanced as that of any state in Germany — or any region in Europe," he adds.

Flourishing SMEs
Thuringia's new-look economy features a predominance of companies from the Mittelstand (the German term for small and medium-sized enterprises). Like calls to like. Thus, it's not surprising that the companies now flocking to the state are also generally from the Mittelstand," he says.

"Attracting them, in addition to our relatively low costs of well-educated labor and fully developed sites and other classic advantages, is their well-founded belief that Thuringia has the essentials allowing them to further develop and deploy their stock of technologies," Mr. Stanitzek concludes.

The state's overall performance hasn't been quite as good as that of its manufacturing sector. In 1997, Thuringia's gross domestic product rose 2.4 percent, second-best among Germany's eastern states.

State business development authorities expect a multiplier effect from the success of manufacturers, whom they see as a dependable source of demand for services and structures. The demand will rejuvenate Thuringia's service sector as well as its hand-pressed construction companies.

A recent survey conducted by the Institut der deutschen Wirtschaft, a business-research organization in Cologne, revealed that a large majority of Thuringia's manufacturers expect their business to further improve in 1999.

Wide range of specialties
According to Mr. Stanitzek, Thuringia has two prime business assets. "There are very few sectors in which our state's business community is not well-established and well-regarded," he says.

"Virtually all of our communities have advanced technological specialties. In addition to Jena, Eisenach and other high-profile cities, these communities include Unterwellborn and its steel industry.

Rudolstadt-Schwarz's chemical manufacturers and the ceramics producers in Hermsdorf," Mr. Stanitzek adds.

As he sees it, this range of sectors gives the state the ability and flexibility to exploit new opportunities, no matter where they arise.

Mr. Stanitzek's corporation has facilitated the development of this geographic and sectoral range of activity. Founded in 1992, LEG Thuringen was given an ambitious brief by the state government: to develop, sell and

Thuringian resident luminaries: From top, Friedrich von Schiller, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Walter Gropius.



Thuringian resident luminaries: From top, Friedrich von Schiller, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Walter Gropius.

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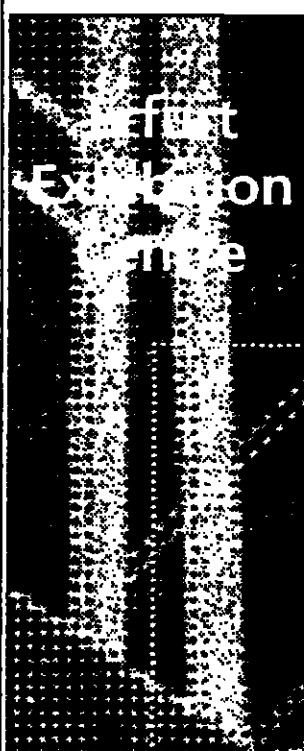
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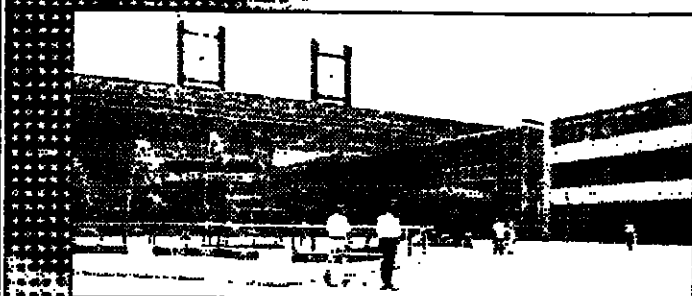
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THROUGH THE WOODED HILLS

Farmers and food processors should profit from new, fast transport links.

Fortune gave Thuringia a great location, smack dab in the middle of Germany. Topography, in the form of the state's many forested hills, precluded the state's business community from fully benefiting from the location. The hills made it expensive to build and extend autobahns and express rail lines.

Not that the forested hills aren't an economic asset. Thanks to the hills and their hiking and cross-country skiing trails, the state does a nice, four-season tourism business.

After the reunification of Germany, money became available for the transport links. Thuringia's two existing autobahns have been completely upgraded, and three new stretches are being completed, as is a rapid-rail line. The price tag is 2 billion

Deutsche marks (\$1.2 billion a year, says Franz Schuster, Thuringia's minister of economic affairs and infrastructure).

The prime beneficiaries of these new and improved links are Thuringia's farms and the food-processing sector they supply.

The sector is one of the great success stories of both Thuringia and eastern Germany. The food-processing sector's turnover has increased 57 percent between 1991 and 1998. Thanks to the 1.3 billion Deutsche mark investments in new production and processing facilities made by its some 200 companies and facilitated by public sector support, productivity nearly doubled over the period.

Since 1993, the sector has also created a net 2,000 jobs, generally in small, rural communities suffering high rates of unemployment.

Today, according to Volker Sklenar, Thuringia's agriculture minister, the food-processing sector's eight years of growth have made it the state's largest single business sector. It's also a major exporter, with 12.3 percent of its sales being earned outside Germany.

Mr. Sklenar sees pent-up demand and a full-scale marketing campaign as the sources of the sector's success. As he points out, Thuringia's *Wurst* (sausage), potato and vegetable-based specialties had long been household names throughout Germany. Today, some 486 kinds of agricultural products from 1,434 companies bear the appellation "Original Thuringian quality," the phrase the state's campaign is using to brand its products.

USEFUL INFORMATION AND ADDRESSES

Thuringia
Area: 16,171 square kilometers (6,244 square miles)
Population: 2.5 million
Capital: Erfurt (204,000)
Other major cities:
Gera (125,000)
Jena (102,000)

LEG
Landesentwicklungsgesellschaft
Thüringen mbH
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D-99084 Erfurt
Tel.: (+49 361) 58 03 450
Fax: (+49 361) 58 03 333
Internet: <http://leg.th-online.de>

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WRITER: Tony Swartzberg, based in Munich.
PROGRAM DIRECTOR: Bill Mahder.



Who is

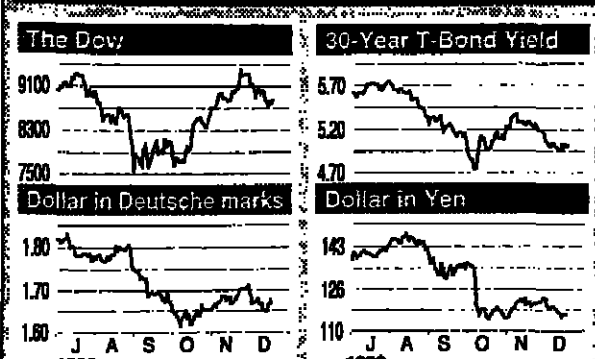
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Man is in a
jail.

عبد الرحمن

THE AMERICAS

Investor's America



Index	1998	1997	1996	1995	1994	1993	1992	1991	1990	1989	1988
Dow Jones	9,100	8,500	7,500	6,500	5,500	4,500	3,500	2,500	1,500	1,000	800
30-Year T-Bond	6.70	6.50	6.30	6.10	5.90	5.70	5.50	5.30	5.10	4.90	4.70

Source: Bloomberg, Reuters

Stocks Rise as Traders Focus on Profit News

NEW YORK — Stocks rose Thursday as a string of positive earnings forecasts and reports pulled investors' attention away from the attack on Iraq and the impeachment proceedings against President Bill Clinton.

Financial and computer-related shares led the gains as Adobe Systems said earnings beat estimates and Chase Manhattan gave an optimistic profit outlook.

"The large technology stocks that dominate their industries are doing very well," said James Gribbell, a money manager at David L. Babson & Co. in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Also, with the economy growing and interest rates falling, "you've got all the makings of a great environment for financial-services stocks to do well."

Investors were also encouraged by a Commerce Department report that showed the U.S. trade deficit fell in October. In addition, a Labor Department report showed that the number of Americans filing new

applications for unemployment benefits dropped to a six-week low.

Oil stocks, which rose Wednesday in anticipation of higher petroleum prices because of the bombing of Baghdad, fell back on Thursday. Chevron, Exxon and Atlantic Richfield were among oil stocks that fell.

The bad news for oil companies was good news for airlines, which are major consumers of petroleum products. Continental Airlines and Delta Air Lines both rose.

The Dow Jones industrial average rose 85.22 points, or 1 percent, to 9,105.82. Advancing issues outnumbered declining ones on the New York Stock Exchange by an 8-to-7 ratio.

The Standard & Poor's 500-stock index gained 18.02 points, or 1.6 percent, to 1,179.96.

The Nasdaq composite index, which contains many technology-related companies, climbed 34.53 points, or 1.7 percent, to 2,043.89.

Several industries can boast of "robust" growth, so people have to keep coming back to technology," said Gary Dvorchak, a fund manager for Provident Investment Counsel of Pasadena, California.

Intel and Cisco Systems were among the stocks that gained on the Nasdaq. Micron Technology shares rose amid optimism that rebounding demand and flagging competition would help the second-largest maker of computer-memory chips return to profitability.

CMG Information Services shares soared 10 1/2 to 9 1/2 after the company said it would split its stock 2 for 1. CMG, which is up more than fivefold for the year, invests in closely held Internet companies with the goal of taking the companies public or selling them to other investors.

Shares of Amazon.com, the No. 1 on-line retailer, fell 12 1/2 to 27 1/2 amid concern that expectations for fourth-quarter revenue may be too high. The decline came a day after the shares rocketed 19 percent, following a CIBC Oppenheimer ana-

lyst's forecast that the stock would reach \$400 in 12 months.

Amazon.com's sales will rise to \$180 million in the fourth quarter from \$153.7 million in the third, Miles Russ, an analyst at Wheat First Union, predicted. Some people, however, are forecasting fourth-quarter sales of \$300 million, which Mr. Russ said would be hard to achieve.

"The expectations for this Christmas holiday season for on-line sales may be getting a little bit ahead of themselves," Mr. Russ said.

Chase Manhattan gained 6 1/2 to 69 1/2 after the bank said it expected fourth-quarter earnings to exceed analysts' estimates because of strong derivatives and currency trading and a surge in loans. Chase said it was "possible" it could have record earnings. Citigroup, American Express and BankAmerica were among other banking stocks that gained.

Treasury bond prices were stable, with the yield on the benchmark 30-year issue steady at 5.01 percent. (Bloomberg, AP)

Dollar Falls As Clinton Uncertainty Casts a Pall

NEW YORK — The dollar fell against most major currencies Thursday as concern mounted that President Bill Clinton would be impeached.

U.S.-led military strikes on Iraq failed to lure investors to the dollar, which is often seen as a haven in times of global strife.

"The momentum the last three days has accelerated in favor of impeachment," said James McGroarty, head of foreign exchange at Orbiter Capital Management. "When you

FOREIGN EXCHANGE

have that kind of political uncertainty, the dollar will come under pressure."

The dollar was quoted at 1.6675 Deutsche marks at 4 P.M., up from 1.6705 on Wednesday. It dropped to 116.250 yen from 116.755.

So far this year, the dollar is down about 11 percent against the yen and 7 percent against the mark.

The dollar got some support in early New York trading after a report showed the U.S. trade deficit unexpectedly narrowed in October.

A narrowing U.S. trade gap is good for the dollar because it means there are fewer dollars left in the hands of foreign exporters to sell for their own currencies repatriating profits.

Still, while export growth was strong, which bodes well for the dollar, traders expect the deficit to continue to widen.

"This report 'doesn't' change the trade picture here for the U.S.," said Jay Bryson, an international economist at First Union Corp. in Charlotte, North Carolina.

"As the world weakens, the trade gap is going to continue to expand," Mr. Bryson added.

Against other major currencies, the dollar fell to 5.5925 French francs from 5.6114 francs and to 1.3490 Swiss francs from 1.3508 francs.

The pound slipped to \$1.6733 from \$1.6748.

High-Tech Publisher Seeks Ad Alternatives

By Jane L. Levere
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Faced with a significant drop in computer and software advertising, Ziff-Davis Inc., the publisher of high-technology magazines, is pursuing new sources of ad income from car, electronic commerce and other companies.

Claude Sheer, recently named the company's chief Internet strategist, attributed the decline in technology advertising to four factors: computer companies diverting advertis-

ing money to solving the Year 2000 problem; the downturn in the Asian economy, which has depressed computer sales in the region; consolidation within the computer industry; and fewer introductions of new computer products.

"If any one of these happened by itself, it would have been a minor speed bump," he said, "but for all four to occur in one year, it's gotten to be a pretty big deal pretty quickly."

Ziff-Davis's competitors, IDG and CMP Media Inc., also have seen ad revenue fall in the third quarter, ac-

cording to Adscope, which tracks technology advertising.

As a result of the decline, Ziff-Davis, which is 70 percent owned by Softbank, a Japanese distributor of software, shut down three of its 15 magazines, Internet Business, Equip and Windows Pro, in October and laid off 10 percent of its workforce of 3,500. Its flagship titles are PC magazine, PC Computing, Yahoo Internet Life and Family PC.

In addition, it is revising its advertising strategy, going after categories that have not traditionally promoted their products or services in Ziff-Davis's titles.

The largest of these categories is automotive advertisers, which the publisher has pursued for the last several years, stepping up its efforts during the summer. To reach this group, Ziff-Davis set up an ad sales office in Detroit in June. It also commissioned a study by ICR, a market research firm, which it said found that 10 million of the 71 million U.S. consumers who went online in the third quarter researched a car or light-truck purchase.

According to Ziff-Davis, the survey also found that on-line car researchers were twice as likely as the general population to read a computer publication. It said the demographics of its readers, mostly college-educated males with high

household incomes, closely matched the demographics of on-line auto shoppers.

Electronic commerce companies are another category Ziff-Davis is eager to cultivate. Companies that have already bought space include Playboy.com, Cyberian Outpost and Catalogcity.com.

Cindy Giller, senior vice president and group media director of Young & Rubicam in San Francisco, said that the circulation of Ziff-Davis's two most popular computer magazines — PC Magazine and PC Computing — and of IDG's PC World "puts them in the broader category for consumer advertising capabilities."

"The whole category is changing, broadening out," she said. "People who use computers are not as niche as they used to be. That's why these magazines' circulations are growing, and that's why they're viewed as consumer titles, not computer niche trade publications."

Sam Whitmore, a former editor in chief of PC Week and the publisher of an on-line newsletter that analyzes technology media, commented that Ziff-Davis's efforts to promote all of its products in one package to E-Trade, something he said the competitors IDG or CMP could not offer.

"This is a very new direction for computer publishers," Mr. Whitmore said.

FDX Shares Soar After Profit Announcement

Bloomberg News

MEMPHIS, Tennessee — Shares in FDX Corp., the parent of Federal Express, shot up Thursday after the company said its second-quarter profit rose 22 percent as it benefited from lower fuel prices and cost controls. The company also benefited from strong domestic demand.

But the world's largest overnight-delivery company warned that strikes to prepare for a possible pilots strike would hurt its third- and fourth-quarter earnings. The pilots abhorred a strike threat last month after FedEx hired other airlines to carry packages and threatened to cut pilot jobs in the event of a walkout.

The pilots' union said a settlement was imminent.

Net income rose to \$183 million, from \$150 million, as oil prices, near 12-year lows, made jet fuel cheaper. Revenue rose 6.8 percent to \$4.21 billion in the quarter ended Nov. 30, from \$3.94 billion in the year-earlier period.

FDX shares jumped \$4.3125 to \$76.3125.

FedEx spent about \$120 million to lease space on trucks and planes to prepare for the strike, preparations which will probably appear as charges when they are declared as expenses later in the financial year, FDX said.

The Trib Index

Prices as of 4:00 P.M. New York time.

World Index	1998	1997	1996	1995	1994	1993	1992	1991	1990	1989	1988
World Index	196.85	+2.49	+1.28	+14.37							
Regional Indices											
Asia/Pacific	89.69	+1.07	+1.21	-6.84							
Europe	227.88	+3.49	+1.56	+18.05							
N. America	278.34	+2.81	+1.02	+28.87							
S. America	79.81	+0.81	+1.03	-47.72							
Industrial Indices											
Capital goods	287.05	+4.13	+1.46	+38.96							
Consumer goods	240.98	+1.88	+0.70	+14.90							
Energy	200.40	+1.05	+0.53	+2.79							
Finance	135.61	+2.70	+2.03	+10.29							
Miscellaneous	188.06	+4.08	+2.22	+25.47							
Raw materials	162.51	+3.84	+2.42	-2.83							
Services	208.77	+2.51	+1.27	+19.77							
Utilities	180.62	+1.22	+0.68	+8.24							

The International Herald Tribune World Stock Index tracks the U.S. dollar value of 280 internationally investable stocks from 25 countries. Compiled by Bloomberg News.

U. S. STOCK MARKET DIARY

Index	High	Low	Open	Close	Change
Dow Jones	9,105.82	8,950.00	9,050.00	9,105.82	+85.22
S&P 500	1,179.96	1,160.00	1,170.00	1,179.96	+18.02
Nasdaq	2,043.89	1,980.00	2,000.00	2,043.89	+34.53
NYSE	1,179.96	1,160.00	1,170.00	1,179.96	+18.02
AMEX	1,179.96	1,160.00	1,170.00	1,179.96	+18.02

Thursday's 4 P.M. Close

651.59 647.19 636.43 -1.91

Dow Jones Bond

10 Bonds	104.87	+0.26
U Utilities	104.23	+0.26
10 Industrials	109.51	-0.84

Trading Activity

NYSE	Volume	Price
Advanced	1740	152.00
Advanced	1740	152.00
Advanced	1740	152.00
Advanced	1740	152.00
Advanced	1740	152.00
Advanced	1740	152.00
Advanced	1740	152.00
Advanced	1740	152.00
Advanced	1740	152.00
Advanced	1740	152.00

Nasdaq

NYSE	Volume	Price
Advanced	1740	152.00
Advanced	1740	152.00
Advanced	1740	152.00
Advanced	1740	152.00
Advanced	1740	152.00
Advanced	1740	152.00
Advanced	1740	152.00
Advanced	1740	152.00
Advanced	1740	152.00
Advanced	1740	152.00

Market Sales

NYSE	Volume	Price
Advanced	1740	152.00
Advanced	1740	152.00
Advanced	1740	152.00
Advanced	1740	152.00
Advanced	1740	152.00
Advanced	1740	152.00
Advanced	1740	152.00
Advanced	1740	152.00
Advanced	1740	152.00
Advanced	1740	152.00

Dividends

Company	Per Annum	Rec Pay
Amgen	1.782	12/31 1-4
Amgen	1.782	12/31 1-4
Amgen	1.782	12/31 1-4
Amgen	1.782	12/31 1-4
Amgen	1.782	12/31 1-4
Amgen	1.782	12/31 1-4
Amgen	1.782	12/31 1-4
Amgen	1.782	12/31 1-4
Amgen	1.782	12/31 1-4
Amgen	1.782	12/31 1-4

REVERSE STOCK SPLIT

Amgen Closes 1 share of Lakes Group for every 4 shares held.

INCREASED

Company	Per Annum	Rec Pay
Amgen	1.782	12/31 1-4
Amgen	1.782	12/31 1-4
Amgen	1.782	12/31 1-4
Amgen	1.782	12/31 1-4
Amgen	1.782	12/31 1-4
Amgen	1.782	12/31 1-4
Amgen	1.782	12/31 1-4
Amgen	1.782	12/31 1-4
Amgen	1.782	12/31 1-4
Amgen	1.782	12/31 1-4

SPECIAL

Company	Per Annum	Rec Pay
Amgen	1.782	12/31 1-4
Amgen	1.782	12/31 1-4
Amgen	1.782	12/31 1-4
Amgen	1.782	12/31 1-4
Amgen	1.782	12/31 1-4
Amgen	1.782	12/31 1-4
Amgen	1.782	12/31 1-4
Amgen	1.782	12/31 1-4
Amgen	1.782	12/31 1-4
Amgen	1.782	12/31 1-4

Amgen

Amgen Closes 1 share of Lakes Group for every 4 shares held.

U.S. Stock Tables Explained

Tables figures are unofficial. Yearly highs and lows reflect the previous 52 weeks plus the current week, but not the latest trading day. Where a split or stock dividend amounted to 25 percent or more has been made, the years high-low range and dividend are shown for the new stock. U.S. companies whose net assets, net of liabilities are annual disbursements based on the latest declaration.

— dividend also extra (ps) — annual rate of dividend plus stock dividend, e — liquidating dividend, ex — PE exceeds 10, b — annual rate of new yearly low — all losses in the last 12 months, c — dividend declared or paid in preceding 12 months, f — annual rate, declared on last declaration, p — dividend in Canadian funds, subject to 15% non-residence tax, 1 — dividend declared after split-up or stock dividend, 1 — dividend paid this year, omitted, deferred, or no dividend in latest dividend meeting, h — dividend declared or paid in preceding 12 months, 1 — cumulative issue with dividends in arrears, m — annual rate, reduced to last declaration, n — new issue in the past 52 weeks, The high-low range begins with the start of trading, o — next day delivery, p — initial dividend, annual rate minimum, P/E — price-earnings ratio, q — closed-end mutual fund, r — dividend declared or paid in preceding 12 months, plus stock dividend, e — stock split, Dividend begins with date of split, sz — zeros, 1 — dividend paid this year, 1 — dividend paid this year, 1 — dividend paid this year, 1 — dividend paid this year, 1 — dividend paid this year, 1 — dividend paid this year, 1 — dividend paid this year, 1 — dividend paid this year, 1 — dividend paid this year, 1 — dividend paid this year, 1 — dividend paid this year, 1 — dividend paid this year, 1 — dividend paid this year, 1 — dividend paid this year, 1 — dividend paid this year, 1 — dividend paid this year, 1 — dividend paid this year, 1 — dividend paid this year, 1 — dividend paid this year, 1 — dividend paid this year, 1 — dividend paid this year, 1 — dividend paid this year, 1 — dividend paid this year, 1 — dividend paid this year, 1 — dividend paid this year, 1 — dividend paid this year, 1 — dividend paid this year, 1 — dividend paid this year, 1 — dividend paid this year, 1 — dividend paid this year, 1 — dividend paid this year, 1 — dividend paid this year, 1 — dividend paid this year, 1 — dividend paid this year, 1 — 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Stocks in Socks: Giving Equities to Children

Bloomberg News
NEW YORK — When Gladys Graham's two children were young, she complemented their birthday and holiday presents with stocks.

Her gifts helped build two portfolios that grew to about \$10,000 each, giving her son, Jerry, and daughter, Iris, some savings during their college years.

"When they got presents for their birthday or checks for the holidays, that would go into the account," said Ms. Graham, a high school guidance counselor from Staten Island, New York.

Ms. Graham is among the ranks of people adding stocks, bonds and mutual funds to their gift lists for children, giving a boost to the next generation's wealth and knowledge of financial markets.

Sales of investments as gifts for children tend to increase during the holidays, bankers say. "We definitely see an increase in the number of custodial accounts that we open between Thanksgiving and Christmas," said John Leahy, a regional manager for the New York metropolitan area for Quick & Reilly Inc., a division of Fleet Financial Group.

Through accounts opened under the Uniform Gifts to Minors Act and Uniform Trusts for Minors Act, gift-givers can contribute up to \$10,000 a year tax-free, though they cannot impose how the funds are spent. When the recipient reaches the age of adulthood, which differs from state to state, he or she can access the funds. Ms. Graham said she knew of cases where recipients spent their money in one shot. "You have no control over how they spend," she said.

In addition to these accounts are education IRAs, in which the maximum contribution is \$500 a year per account. The education IRA, which was established this year, can be used for tuition, room and board, fees or books. The recipient of the account avoids taxes on the original contribution and on the returns as long as he or she withdraws the money before the age of 30. Contributors to these IRAs can-

not claim federal income tax deductions on their gifts.

Banks, brokerage firms and mutual fund companies all will help set up such trusts. Fees for establishing these accounts are usually small or nonexistent because the banks and brokerage firms earn commissions when they buy and sell stocks for the trusts, Mr. Leahy said.

One of the drawbacks of giving financial products for children in a restricted account is that such gifts are not immediately accessible and cannot be unwrapped like a baseball or a doll. In addition, adulthood can seem pretty far off to a child.

Laura Smith, who works at a stock trading firm in New Jersey, set up accounts for her niece and nephews, aged 3 to 10. Ms. Smith said her sister, the children's mother, does not want them to know about

their account balances until they come of age.

Yet, other gift-givers try to involve the recipients by picking stocks that might interest children, bankers say.

"People like to put money into something of interest to the family," Mr. Leahy said. Families that enjoy computer games might buy stock in the Learning Co., a top educational software maker that has gained 53 percent this year. Fast-food fanciers might buy stock in McDonald's Corp., which is up almost 47 percent this year.

A popular pick for these trusts is Walt Disney Co., bankers say, because of its well-known animated characters — many of which are sprinkled throughout the company's annual reports.

"A lot of my friends have Disney," said Holly Isdale, a vice pres-

ident and U.S. income tax strategies for private clients at J. P. Morgan & Co. "The annual report with the '101 Dalmations' is a big hit. Even the dividend checks can be fun."

While Disney's stock is down about 7 percent this year, it has climbed more than 120 percent in the past five years.

In addition to the educational opportunities for children, those who choose stocks as gifts get to watch them rise or fall in value over time.

Jim Chapman, a student at the University of Virginia's Darden Business School, said he felt some pressure to at least match the market with his stock choices.

"A 10 percent return last year compared to the market is not good," he said. "It's a pride issue when we're sitting around the Thanksgiving table."

U.S. Mutual Fund Eyes Europe

Bloomberg News

NEW YORK — Federated Investors Inc., the ninth-largest U.S. mutual fund company, is looking for expansion opportunities in Western Europe, and expects to manage \$2.8 billion in international stocks and bonds by the end of March, officials said.

Federated is scouting Western Europe for potential partners, and expects to win \$180 million in advisory work in the next several weeks, on top of \$900 million it recently won from a German insurer, said James Getz, president of Federated Securities Corp., a subsidiary of Federated Investors. This would increase the company's assets by 65 percent from the \$1.7 billion it manages today.

Federated managed about \$103 billion in assets at the end of September, the bulk of that in domestic bonds and money market funds, and has tried to expand to include more equity and international assets.

Two weeks ago, Federated agreed to form a joint venture with the German insurer LVM-Versicherungen, which will distribute Federated's mutual funds through its more than 2,300 agents.

Mr. Getz said Federated will manage 1.5 billion Deutsche marks (\$897.9 million) in existing assets from LVM's portfolio, about a quarter in international stocks and three-quarters in Eurobonds.

LVM will start selling Federated mutual funds in Europe in the second half of 1999. The U.S. portion of the funds will be managed in Pittsburgh. Federated's headquarters, with the international portion run from New York.

Federated is also looking to expand outside Germany. "Our intention is to look for other potential joint ventures of that nature," Mr. Gerz said.

The agreement with LVM, Federated's first in Europe, took a long time to negotiate, "but we also

realize the vagaries of the foreign market, and that we really have to inculcate ourselves into the culture of these different companies," he said.

■ \$100 Million Fund in India

New York Life International Inc., the global arm of New York Life Insurance Co., started Thursday a \$100 million fund for investment in India, Reuters reported from New Delhi.

The New York International India Fund would focus on investment in sectors such as telecommunications, infrastructure projects, power supply to industrial users, software and export-related industries, the company said.

In order to diversify the portfolio, the fund would normally not invest more than 10 percent of its capital in any one enterprise, the firm said. New York Life Insurance has over \$11.5 billion in assets under management.

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Since 1993, association members have not been permitted to vote on rule changes made by the board. The as-

Mr. Jones said the regulator's costs have risen as the industry has grown.

Continued from Page 15

large part in trading decisions for investors in either market who buy and sell in the other.

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approved by the upper house and the electorate — are likely to begin after 2001 and will be gradual in order not to depress prices further.

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December 17, 1998
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The Associated Press

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姓名	性别	年龄	籍贯	职业	住址	备注
王德胜	男	45	山东	工人	济南市	
李秀英	女	38	河北	教师	石家庄市	
张国强	男	52	河南	农民	郑州市	
刘小红	女	28	湖北	医生	武汉市	
陈为民	男	60	广东	商人	广州市	
赵子龙	男	35	四川	学生	成都市	
周大伟	男	42	浙江	工程师	杭州市	
吴小芳	女	30	安徽	护士	合肥市	
孙建国	男	55	湖南	教授	长沙市	
郑晓琳	女	25	江西	记者	南昌市	
冯志强	男	48	福建	公务员	福州市	
马丽娟	女	33	广西	会计	南宁市	
徐长贵	男	58	山西	工人	太原市	
郭小梅	女	27	陕西	教师	西安市	
黄大勇	男	40	甘肃	农民	兰州市	
宋小红	女	35	宁夏	医生	银川市	
林为民	男	65	青海	商人	西宁市	
赵子龙	男	30	内蒙古	学生	呼和浩特市	
周大伟	男	45	新疆	工程师	乌鲁木齐市	
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孙建国	男	50	辽宁	教授	沈阳市	
郑晓琳	女	30	黑龙江	记者	哈尔滨市	
冯志强	男	40	河北	公务员	石家庄市	
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宋小红	女	30	江西	医生	南昌市	
林为民	男	60	安徽	商人	合肥市	
赵子龙	男	25	浙江	学生	杭州市	
周大伟	男	40	江苏	工程师	南京市	
吴小芳	女	20	广东	护士	广州市	
孙建国	男	50	广西	教授	南宁市	
郑晓琳	女	25	四川	记者	成都市	
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郭小梅	女	25	陕西	教师	西安市	
黄大勇	男	55	甘肃	农民	兰州市	
宋小红	女	30	宁夏	医生	银川市	
林为民	男	65	青海	商人	西宁市	
赵子龙	男	30	内蒙古	学生	呼和浩特市	
周大伟	男	45	新疆	工程师	乌鲁木齐市	
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郑晓琳	女	30	黑龙江	记者	哈尔滨市	
冯志强	男	40	河北	公务员	石家庄市	
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徐长贵	男	55	河南	工人	郑州市	
郭小梅	女	35	湖北	教师	武汉市	
黄大勇	男	45	湖南	农民	长沙市	
宋小红	女	30	江西	医生	南昌市	
林为民	男	60	安徽	商人	合肥市	
赵子龙	男	25	浙江	学生	杭州市	
周大伟	男	40	江苏	工程师	南京市	
吴小芳	女	20	广东	护士	广州市	
孙建国	男	50	广西	教授	南宁市	
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黄大勇	男	55	甘肃	农民	兰州市	
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林为民	男	65	青海	商人	西宁市	
赵子龙	男	30	内蒙古	学生	呼和浩特市	
周大伟	男	45	新疆	工程师	乌鲁木齐市	
吴小芳	女	25	吉林	护士	长春市	
孙建国	男	50	辽宁	教授	沈阳市	
郑晓琳	女	30	黑龙江	记者	哈尔滨市	
冯志强	男	40	河北	公务员	石家庄市	

1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
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Y-2		Y-3		Y-4		Y-5		Y-6		Y-7		Y-8		Y-9		Y-10		Y-11		Y-12		Y-13		Y-14		Y-15		Y-16		Y-17		Y-18		Y-19		Y-20		Y-21		Y-22		Y-23		Y-24		Y-25		Y-26		Y-27		Y-28		Y-29		Y-30		Y-31		Y-32		Y-33		Y-34		Y-35		Y-36		Y-37		Y-38		Y-39		Y-40		Y-41		Y-42		Y-43		Y-44		Y-45		Y-46		Y-47		Y-48		Y-49		Y-50		Y-51		Y-52		Y-53		Y-54		Y-55		Y-56		Y-57		Y-58		Y-59		Y-60		Y-61		Y-62		Y-63		Y-64		Y-65		Y-66		Y-67		Y-68		Y-69		Y-70		Y-71		Y-72		Y-73		Y-74		Y-75		Y-76		Y-77		Y-78		Y-79		Y-80		Y-81		Y-82		Y-83		Y-84		Y-85		Y-86		Y-87		Y-88		Y-89		Y-90		Y-91		Y-92		Y-93		Y-94		Y-95		Y-96		Y-97		Y-98		Y-99		Y-100	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100																																																																																																		

Thursday's 4 P.M. Close

(Continued)

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

High	Low	Stock	Div Yld	PE	100s High	Low/Latest Ch
74	73 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	73 1/2
73 1/2	73	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	73
73	72 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	72 1/2
72 1/2	72	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	72
72	71 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	71 1/2
71 1/2	71	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	71
71	70 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	70 1/2
70 1/2	70	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	70
70	69 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	69 1/2
69 1/2	69	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	69
69	68 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	68 1/2
68 1/2	68	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	68
68	67 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	67 1/2
67 1/2	67	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	67
67	66 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	66 1/2
66 1/2	66	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	66
66	65 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	65 1/2
65 1/2	65	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	65
65	64 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	64 1/2
64 1/2	64	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	64
64	63 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	63 1/2
63 1/2	63	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	63
63	62 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	62 1/2
62 1/2	62	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	62
62	61 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	61 1/2
61 1/2	61	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	61
61	60 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	60 1/2
60 1/2	60	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	60
60	59 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	59 1/2
59 1/2	59	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	59
59	58 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	58 1/2
58 1/2	58	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	58
58	57 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	57 1/2
57 1/2	57	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	57
57	56 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	56 1/2
56 1/2	56	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	56
56	55 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	55 1/2
55 1/2	55	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	55
55	54 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	54 1/2
54 1/2	54	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	54
54	53 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	53 1/2
53 1/2	53	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	53
53	52 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	52 1/2
52 1/2	52	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	52
52	51 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	51 1/2
51 1/2	51	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	51
51	50 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	50 1/2
50 1/2	50	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	50
50	49 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	49 1/2
49 1/2	49	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	49
49	48 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	48 1/2
48 1/2	48	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	48
48	47 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	47 1/2
47 1/2	47	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	47
47	46 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	46 1/2
46 1/2	46	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	46
46	45 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	45 1/2
45 1/2	45	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	45
45	44 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	44 1/2
44 1/2	44	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	44
44	43 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	43 1/2
43 1/2	43	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	43
43	42 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	42 1/2
42 1/2	42	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	42
42	41 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	41 1/2
41 1/2	41	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	41
41	40 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	40 1/2
40 1/2	40	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	40
40	39 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	39 1/2
39 1/2	39	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	39
39	38 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	38 1/2
38 1/2	38	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	38
38	37 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	37 1/2
37 1/2	37	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	37
37	36 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	36 1/2
36 1/2	36	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	36
36	35 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	35 1/2
35 1/2	35	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	35
35	34 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	34 1/2
34 1/2	34	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	34
34	33 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	33 1/2
33 1/2	33	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	33
33	32 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	32 1/2
32 1/2	32	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	32
32	31 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	31 1/2
31 1/2	31	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	31
31	30 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	30 1/2
30 1/2	30	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	30
30	29 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	29 1/2
29 1/2	29	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	29
29	28 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	28 1/2
28 1/2	28	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	28
28	27 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	27 1/2
27 1/2	27	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	27
27	26 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	26 1/2
26 1/2	26	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	26
26	25 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	25 1/2
25 1/2	25	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	25
25	24 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	24 1/2
24 1/2	24	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	24
24	23 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	23 1/2
23 1/2	23	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	23
23	22 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	22 1/2
22 1/2	22	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	22
22	21 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	21 1/2
21 1/2	21	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	21
21	20 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	20 1/2
20 1/2	20	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	20
20	19 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	19 1/2
19 1/2	19	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	19
19	18 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	18 1/2
18 1/2	18	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	18
18	17 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	17 1/2
17 1/2	17	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	17
17	16 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	16 1/2
16 1/2	16	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	16
16	15 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	15 1/2
15 1/2	15	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	15
15	14 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	14 1/2
14 1/2	14	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	14
14	13 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	13 1/2
13 1/2	13	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	13
13	12 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	12 1/2
12 1/2	12	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	12
12	11 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	11 1/2
11 1/2	11	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	11
11	10 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	10 1/2
10 1/2	10	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	10
10	9 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	9 1/2
9 1/2	9	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	9
9	8 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	8 1/2
8 1/2	8	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	8
8	7 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	7 1/2
7 1/2	7	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	7
7	6 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	6 1/2
6 1/2	6	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	6
6	5 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	5 1/2
5 1/2	5	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	5
5	4 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	4 1/2
4 1/2	4	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	4
4	3 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	3 1/2
3 1/2	3	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	3
3	2 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	2 1/2
2 1/2	2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	2
2	1 1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	1 1/2
1 1/2	1	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	1
1	1/2	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	1/2
1/2	0	United States Steel	3 1/2	13	100	0

Very briefly:

Japan Steelmaker NKK Plans to Trim 3,300 Jobs

Office Economic Program

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ASIA/PACIFIC

Unemployment In Hong Kong Hits a Record

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

HONG KONG—Hong Kong's unemployment rate rose to a record 5.5 percent in the three months to November as the city sank deeper into its worst recession in over a generation.

The unemployment rate for the August-to-October period was revised to 5.2 percent from 5.3 percent, the government said Thursday.

"The third and fourth quarters this year have been particularly rough and we expect the labor-shedding to continue," said David Sharrp, an economist at Banque Paribas.

Gross domestic product shrank 7 percent in the third quarter and is expected to contract 5 percent for the full year.

"Given the latest trends, it is likely that unemployment will remain at a relatively high level," said K. Y. Tang, a government economist. "When we see a clear recovery in the economy is not something which I can predict with any certainty at this point in time."

Economists expected a fresh wave of layoffs to hit the labor market after Chinese New Year in mid-February, and most forecast that unemployment would peak in the first or second quarter.



Men passing the time Thursday in a park in Hong Kong, where joblessness has risen to a record 5.5 percent.

"There are a lot of downsizing plans in the pipeline which have not been implemented," said Chi Lo, an HSBC economist. "Because it is just not the Chinese way to fire people before the Chinese New Year, we expect intensive firing and downsizing after the new year."

A Warburg Dillon Read economist, Rafael Wu, said he expected a substantial increase in unemployment in February, March and April. "These are the times when all the corporates are re-

viewing their annual budget," he said. The government plans to review its infrastructure spending programs in the next month in light of the new figures, said Joseph Wong, Hong Kong's secretary for education and manpower.

"There will be well over 100,000 new jobs created between the middle of this year and the end of next year," Mr. Wong said. "Spending in the public works program over the next five years will be almost twice the amount spent on the new airport." The airport,

which opened in July, cost \$20 billion. For Hong Kong's 6.7 million people, who are used to an economy that has grown by about 5 percent each year since 1991, the sudden rise in joblessness comes as a shock. Hong Kong people had become accustomed to having more jobs than people to fill them.

Even though the large declines in tourist arrivals and property prices, which fell by 55 percent in 13 months, have slowed, analysts expect the effect on employment to continue. (Bloomberg, Reuters)

Chaebol Give Banks Right To Oversee Restructuring

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

SEOUL—Four of the five top family-run South Korean conglomerates signed corporate restructuring pledges with their creditors Thursday, putting their promises to paper for the first time.

The conglomerates, known as chaebol, signed Corporate Structure Improvement Plans with their main creditors, who are charged with making sure the groups stick to their pledges. If a conglomerate fails to keep to the terms, its credit will be cut off.

The Hyundai, Samsung, LG and SK groups announced their signings separately Thursday. Daewoo Group will sign an accord with its bankers Saturday, after its chairman, Kim Woo Chong, returns from an overseas trip.

"Our program covers detailed plans to sell specific assets and businesses to raise a certain amount of money by such and such a date," said Park Young Se, a Samsung director. He declined to elaborate, saying publicizing such details could hamper Samsung's negotiations with potential foreign investors.

Seoul had threatened to pressure the banks to reduce lending to the chaebol to prevent them from focusing on debt-leveraged business expansions.

Commercial Bank of Korea Ltd., Hanil Bank, Korea Exchange Bank and

Korea First Bank, major creditor banks of the five groups, will have the authority to check the progress of the restructuring programs each quarter. The chaebol have pledged to reduce their combined business units to 136 from 261 by 2000 through sales, swaps and liquidations.

Hyundai Group promised its major creditor bank, Korea Exchange, that it would lower its debt-to-equity ratio to 199.7 percent by the end of next year, compared with 578.7 percent last year. Samsung will lower its to 184 percent. Daewoo to 196 percent. LG to 199.8 percent and SK to 199.7 percent.

Moody's Investors Service Inc. warned Thursday that the chaebol's debts might prove too huge for banks to bear and that Seoul might have to share the burden. But the American agency did not alter its credit ratings for five South Korean banks, saying it viewed Seoul's yearlong economic reform drive "positively." (Bloomberg, Reuters, AFP)

3 Troubled Banks to Merge

Three indebted South Korean banks, Cho Hung Bank, Kangwon Bank Ltd. and Hyundai International Merchant Bank, said Thursday that they would merge to form a new institution with an expected \$2 billion in government capitalization. Agence France-Press reported.

Investor's Asia

Hong Kong	Singapore	Tokyo
Hang Seng	Straits Times	Nikkei 225
11000	1550	17000
10000	1400	16000
9000	1250	15000
8000	1100	14000
7000	950	13000
6000	800	12000
J A S O N D	J A S O N D	J A S O N D
1998	1998	1998
Exchange	Index	Thursday
		Close
Hong Kong	Hang Seng	10,863.31
Singapore	Straits Times	1,386.19
Sydney	All Ordinaries	2,748.00
Tokyo	Nikkei 225	14,126.90
Kuala Lumpur	Composite	542.78
Bangkok	SET	338.85
Seoul	Composite Index	528.89
Taipei	Stock Market Index	6,650.84
Manila	PSE	1,878.30
Jakarta	Composite Index	405.58
Wellington	NZSE-40	1,984.39
Bombay	Sensitive Index	2,884.44
		Prev. Close
		Change
		+1.45
		+0.62
		+1.58
		+0.22
		-0.04
		-1.71
		-3.15
		-1.76
		+0.48
		-1.72
		+2.11
		-2.47

Source: Telex

International Herald Tribune

Very briefly:

- China Airlines, Taiwan's largest carrier, tripled its 1998 pretax loss forecast to \$2.85 billion Taiwan dollars (\$88.4 million), blaming the Asian economic crisis and damage to its reputation following a crash earlier this year.
- BASF AG, Europe's biggest chemicals maker, and Royal Dutch/Shell Group plan to invest \$500 million in a Singapore joint venture to make styrene monomer and propylene oxide, two raw materials for plastic.
- The Japan Automobile Manufacturers Association said the nation's 11 automakers will sell 6.05 million cars, trucks and buses in 1999, compared with an estimated 5.9 million vehicles this year amid little sign that Japan's economy will pull out of its seven-year slump.
- SembCorp Industries Ltd., Southeast Asia's biggest civil engineering and building construction group, plans to re-shuffle its logistics units. It plans to sell ST Logistics to Sembawang Marine & Logistics Ltd. for 126 million Singapore dollars (\$76.6 million) as part of its plans to focus on key engineering and technology businesses.
- Shell Chemicals Ltd. said it remained committed to its project for an 800,000-ton-per-year ethylene plant in Nanhai, China, because it fitted into the Royal/Dutch Shell Group's restructuring plans. (Bloomberg, Reuters)

Japan Steelmaker NKK Plans to Trim 3,300 Jobs

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

TOKYO — The Japanese steelmaker NKK Corp. said Thursday it would cut 3,300 jobs, more than a fifth of its work force, as it struggles in the face of tough competition and a recession at home.

The steel and pipemaker said it would reassign or offer early retirement to 3,300 of its 15,300 employees by March 2000. The company will move 850 of those employees to new companies created from the parent company's existing operations.

NKK, the second-largest Japanese steel company after Nippon Steel Corp., has projected a group net loss of 109 billion yen (\$933.6 million) for the year to March. The company also said it would restructure some of its operations.

The firm is under pressure to speed up its rehabilitation program after its Toa Steel Co. subsidiary went under this year after earnings collapsed as demand for steel slowed and costs mounted.

Japanese steelmakers are seeing their earnings sink on poor demand from automakers and other customers as a result of recessions at home and elsewhere in Asia.

NKK posted a net loss of 30 billion yen on 456.8 billion yen in revenue in the half-year ended Sept. 30. In the same period one year earlier, it had a profit of 11.2 billion yen.

The Tokyo-based steelmaker will reorganize its Keihin, Toyama and Shimizu factories into new companies, the company said.

NKK shares fell 3 yen to 76 yen. (AFP, Bloomberg)

Tokyo Cites Economic Progress

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

TOKYO — Massive government spending packages are having a positive impact on the economy, the Bank of Japan said Thursday, but the slump in the world's second-largest economy is far from over.

The decline in the nation's industrial production is slowing as companies reduce inventories of durable goods, and exports are rising, the central bank said in its monthly economic report for December. Public works spending from two government economic-stimulus packages worth a combined 40 trillion yen (\$342.59 billion) will provide a foundation for growth in the fiscal year that begins April 1, the bank said.

But corporate spending was falling "significantly," housing investment was still sluggish and consumer spending was bleak, the central bank warned. The report reflects a minor improvement in the bank's diagnosis for an economy that has shrunk for four quarters. (AFP, Bloomberg)

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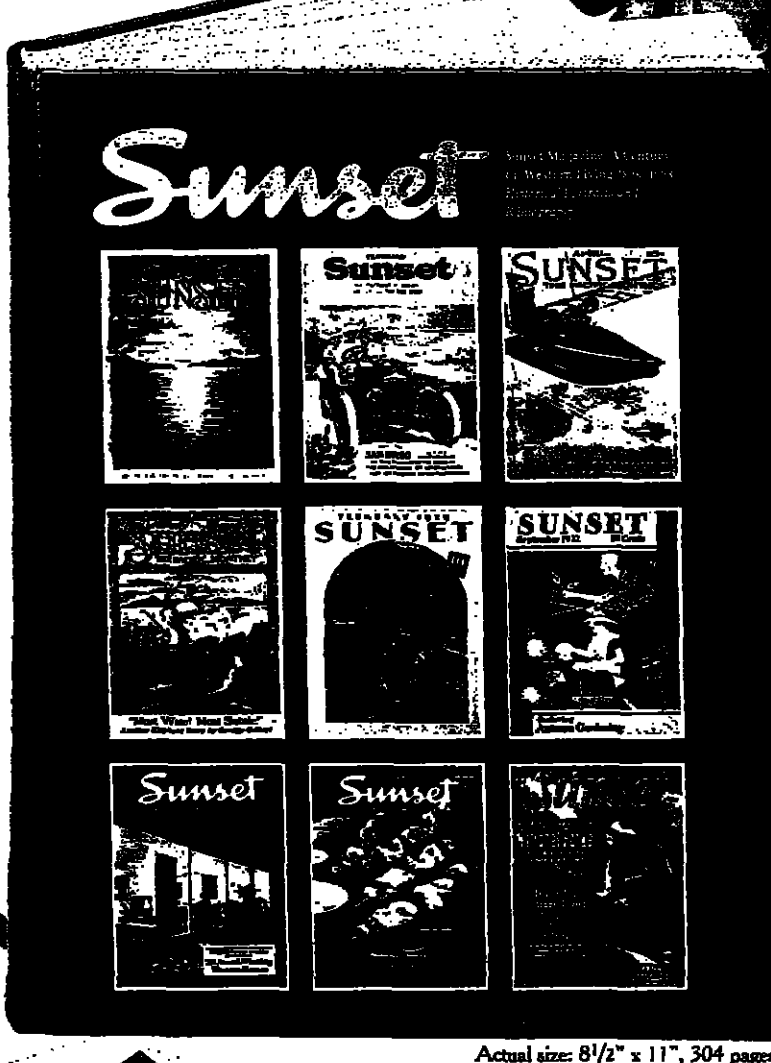
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(base: all respondents; top 40 nominations)

Rank	Company	Country
1	General Electric	US
2	Microsoft	US
3	Coca-Cola	US
4	IBM	US
5	Toyota	Japan
6	Daimler-Benz	Germany
7=	ABB	Switzerland/Sweden
7=	Nestlé	Switzerland
9=	Ford	US
9=	Intel	US
11	General Motors	Netherlands/UK
12	Royal Dutch/Shell	Germany
13	BMW	US
14=	Hewlett-Packard	US
14=	Procter & Gamble	US
16	Philip Morris	France/UK
17=	Alstom	US
17=	Colgate-Palmolive	US
17=	Johnson & Johnson	US
17=	McDonald's	US
17=	Servicemaster	US
17=	Wal-Mart	US
24=	3m	US
24=	Mobil	Japan
24=	Sony	UK
27=	Body Shop International	US
27=	Dell	Japan
27=	Honda	Japan
27=	Japan Railway East	Japan

Extract from Financial Times Survey
conducted by PricewaterhouseCoopers
30/11/98

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WORLD ROUNDUP

Belgian Region Rejects Tobacco Ban

FORMULA ONE Wallonia's regional Parliament on Wednesday approved an exemption to allow tobacco advertising at the Belgian Grand Prix Formula One race, despite national legislation banning such ads starting Jan. 1.

"It is regrettable to take a decision like that when you don't get your way at a national level," said Prime Minister Jean-Luc Dehaene of Belgium. "Fortunately, it can be challenged by the court."

The national anti-tobacco law will bar tobacco sponsors from advertising at sports and cultural events, including the hugely successful Belgian Grand Prix. (AP)

Bob Appeals To Engquist

ATHLETICS Ludmila Engquist, the Olympic and world 100 meters hurdles champion, said Thursday she wants to compete at the 2002 Winter Olympics in Salt Lake City in the two-woman Swedish bobsleigh.

"This is not a joke because we have been in contact with the bobsleigh coaches," said her husband and coach Johan. (Reuters)

Rice and White Picked

FOOTBALL Reggie White, the Green Bay defensive tackle, gained a record 13th Pro Bowl selection Wednesday. Jerry Rice, the San Francisco wide receiver who missed most of last season because of injuries, was picked for the 12th time.

Denver and Minnesota, who lead their conferences, placed the most players on the team, nine each.

Among the notable absentees Feb. 7 in Honolulu is Brett Favre, the Green Bay quarterback and three-time league MVP, and Emmitt Smith, the Dallas running back.

Dan Reeves, the Atlanta Falcons coach, is in good condition following heart bypass surgery. A spokeswoman for Piedmont Hospital in Atlanta, said Wednesday it was likely that Reeves would go home Friday at the latest.

Reeves, 54, will miss the rest of the regular season, but expects to return for the playoffs. (AP)

Good Luck Drill

FOOTBALL Bill Parcells, the coach of the New York Jets, is so superstitious he is even prepared to make extra visits to the dentist if he thinks it will help his team win.

"I had three dentist's appointments earlier this year," Parcells told a U.S. sports magazine. "We won every Sunday after I had an appointment. So after my last appointment, I went back to the dentist even though I didn't need anything done."

"Had my teeth cleaned. We won again, so I went back again. But then the Colts beat us, so I don't have to go anymore." (LAT)

Brown's Deal Displays Dodgers' Incompetence

At 33, Pitcher's Best Years Are Behind Him

By Thomas Boswell
Washington Post Staff Writer

WASHINGTON—Throughout baseball, tears are being shed and hands wrung over the bleak state of the game in the wake of Kevin Brown's \$105 million contract. "I'm in mourning for the game," said Larry Lucchino, the San Diego Padres' president, after losing Brown in a seven-year deal to the rival Los Angeles Dodgers. "Tell me how there is supposed to be competitive balance. At

VANTAGE POINT

some point, you cross a line" where only the largest-revenue clubs can compete. Save the agony, please. We should be laughing.

The Dodgers have just used Rupert Murdoch's checkbook to sign the dumbest \$100 million contract in pro sports history. By comparison, those National Basketball Association abominations, such as Kevin Garnett (\$126 million), Shaquille O'Neal (\$120 million), Alonzo Mourning (\$112 million) and Shawn Kemp (\$107 million) are models of logic. The Dodgers are the new standard for historic incompetence.

Every shred of baseball history says that the Dodger brain trust, if that's not an oxymoron, has just swapped a year or two of being a borderline contender, thanks to Brown, for about five seasons of being dragged down by a \$15 million-a-season obligation to a pitcher who'll be lucky to win 10 games.

Yes, baseball has become dramatically and annoyingly imbalanced. But the Brown signing isn't an illustration of it. Instead, it's an example of how the obnoxiously greedy can screw up on a grand scale despite their wealth. By agreeing to an insane deal, the Dodgers have taken tens of millions of dollars of their "unfair" advantage and, in effect, built a cash bonfire at the pitcher's mound and burned their dough in public view. The very money that should have been buying them pennants in the early 2000s is going up in smoke.

As Ted Turner and George Steinbrenner learned long ago when they first arrived in baseball—with big wallets and no baseball judgment—giving market-busting, long-term contracts to old pitchers is a guaranteed disaster. Not for baseball, but for the nouveau riche clubs who don't have a clue. Kevin Malone, the Dodgers' general manager, and Davey Johnson, the Dodgers' manager, must be rolling their eyes. They know what the top Dodger brass has done. But why tell 'em?

Kevin Brown will be 34 in March. For their \$105 million, what are the Dodgers likely to get? Have they bought the future? Or mortgaged it?

Let's examine the career of top pitchers since World War I who, at the age of 33, had a season comparable to Brown's 18-7 year with the Padres. What did they do over the next seven seasons? Would their performances in today's market be worth \$105 million?

At 33, Grover Cleveland Alexander, Bert Blyleven, Jim Bunning, Lew Burdette, Steve Carlton, Mike Cuellar, Paul

Derringer, Bob Feller, Whitey Ford, Bob Gibson, Lefty Gomez, Lefty Grove, Ron Guidry, Carl Hubbell, Tommy John, Walter Johnson, Jerry Koosman, Bob Lemon, Juan Marichal, Christy Mathewson, Jim Palmer, Gaylord Perry, Allie Reynolds, Red Ruffing, Nolan Ryan, Tom Seaver, Warren Spahn, Don Sutton, Luis Tiant and Early Wynn all had years comparable to Brown's. Their average mark at 33 was 20-10 (603 wins, 303 losses).

That's the whole list of comparables: 30 of them. The cream of the cream. These guys are, as a group, much better than Kevin Brown, who's won 20 games only once and, at 139-99, is not a Hall of Famer by a long shot.

What did Lefty Carlton and Whitey, Big Train Johnson and Big Six Mathewson, King Carl Hubbell and Tom (Terrific) Seaver do after the age of 33? They went 2,365-1,786. Or 80-60 per man; an annual record of 11-9—barely an average big-league starter.

Out of all 30 of these greats, only one would clearly have been worth the \$105 million the Dodgers just gave Brown—Warren Spahn, who won 20 games in six of his next seven years. You might also have gotten your money's worth out of Wynn (125-86), Carlton (123-79), Perry (121-92) and Alexander (113-74).

But that's it. Out of this list of the greatest pitchers who hadn't blown out their arms by 33, only five won as many as 105 games in the next seven seasons. In Dodger terms, that means \$1 million per win. Conversely, look at the disasters among stars who blew up at the same age as Brown. By their 35th birthdays, Bunning, Burdette, Derringer, Feller, Gomez, Hubbell, Marichal, Mathewson and Palmer were on their last legs.

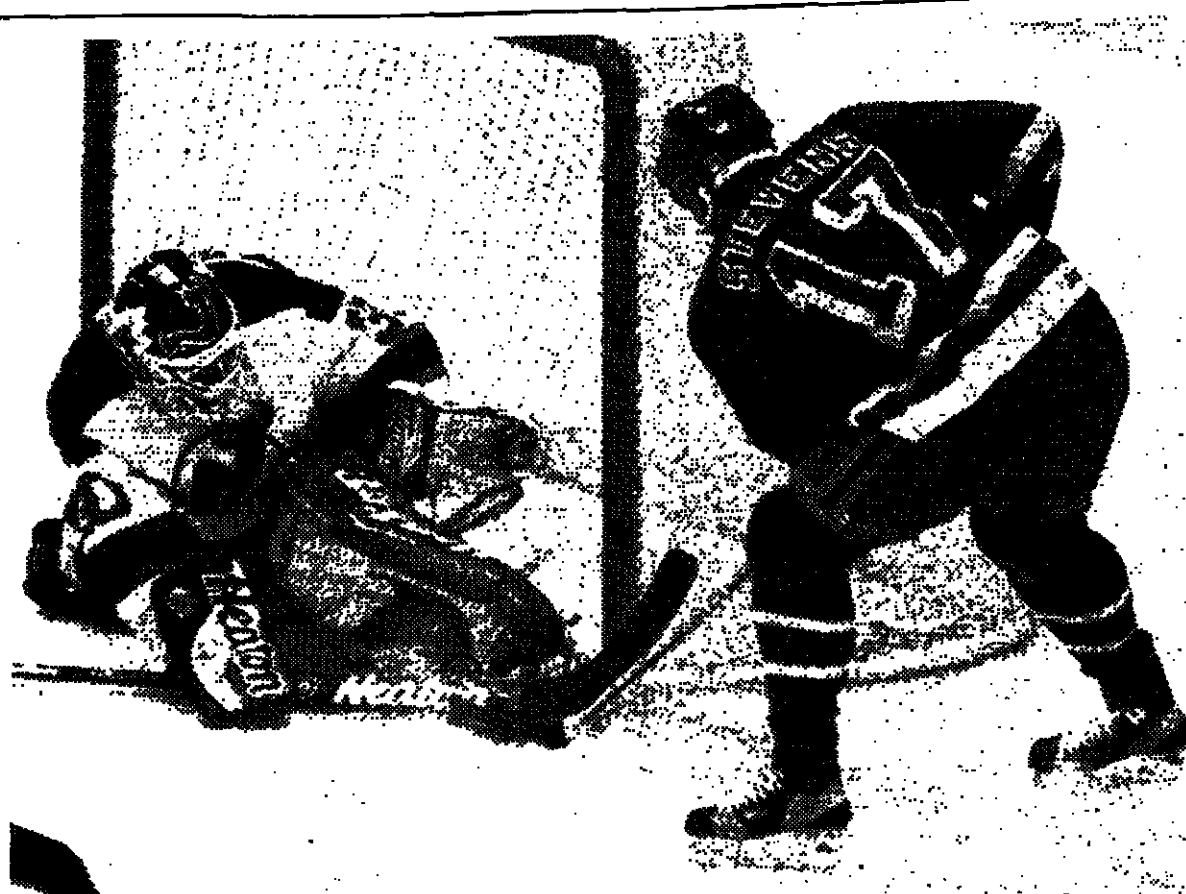
In baseball, even young pitchers are ridiculously fragile. Old ones might as well be held together with string. If you like dark humor, look up the records of the recent standout pitchers Orel Herschiser, Frank Viola, Mark Langston and Rich Sutcliffe. They were all Kevin Brown. Stop at a top season around age 30 when they were The Man. Then see what happened to the rest of their careers. They all became Mr. 11-9.

Over the past 20 years, baseball has seen a succession of teams that have—for one season or even a few in a row—been willing to blow out the game's salary structure so they could try to Win Now. However, when those teams have fallen on their faces with extravagant rock-headed free agent signings, they have had the decency—or perhaps the sense of shame—to stop spending at some point.

The real issue is not that the Dodgers have spent \$105 million for a pitcher, the rest of whose career will, at best, probably look like Carl Hubbell's over the same age span: 22-8, 13-10, 11-9, 11-12, 11-9, 11-8, 4-4.

The question that has hung over baseball for 20 years has always been the same. What happens if the game ever gets an owner who is utterly shameless, totally amoral and absurdly rich?

In a year or two, if the Brown signing works out as badly as it should, then we may find out if Rupert Murdoch is that owner.



The Rangers' Kevin Stevens, right, battling the Devils' Martin Brodeur. Stevens scored on the play.

Devils Stay Hot by Drubbing Rangers

The Associated Press

The New Jersey Devils set a franchise record, scoring at least five goals for the fifth consecutive game with their 6-3 victory over the New York Rangers.

"It makes the game fun," said Ken Daneyko, a New Jersey defenseman.

NHL ROUNDOUP

after the Devils stretched their unbeaten streak to eight Wednesday night.

The Devils, known for their defense in recent years, are enjoying a scoring surge under the team's new coach, Robbie Ftorek. New Jersey is third in the National Hockey League with 87 goals and leads the league with 18 victories.

Under Jacques Lemaire, the previous coach "if you made a mistake, you ended up sitting on the bench," Daneyko said. Jason Arnott and Jay

Pandolfo scored two goals apiece, and Martin Brodeur stopped 23 shots as the Devils beat the visiting Rangers for the third time this season.

Maple Leafs 5, Coyotes 2 Toronto handed visiting Phoenix just its fourth loss of the season as Igor Koriolov scored twice during a four-goal outburst in the second period. Mats Sundin, Darby Hendrickson and Fredrik Modin also scored for the Leafs.

Toronto became the first team this season to score five goals against Phoenix, which has the NHL's top defense.

Panthers 4, Penguins 1 Ray Whitney and Bill Lindsay scored 47 seconds apart in the third period to help Florida beat visiting Pittsburgh.

Scott Mellanby had a goal and two assists, including his 300th career assist, and Rob Niedermayer added two assists for Florida.

Red Wings 5, Bruins 3 Nick Lidstrom and Larry Murphy each scored a goal as Detroit beat Boston for its sixth straight victory at home.

Murphy (23 points) and Lidstrom (19) are two of the top scoring defensemen in the league.

Mighty Ducks 6, Predators 1 Teemu Selanne and Travis Green each had two goals and an assist as Anaheim beat visiting Nashville.

Guy Hebert, the Mighty Ducks' goalie, lost his bid for a third consecutive shutout with 4:06 remaining. He had stopped 113 straight shots over a span of 191 minutes and 37 seconds before Nashville's Denny Lambert knocked in a rebound on the Predators' 36th shot of the game.

Hebert finished with 38 saves for the Mighty Ducks, who tied a club record with four power-play goals.

Rivals May Ask Salt Lake City to Pay

By Christopher Clarey
International Herald Tribune

SEVILLE, Spain—The official who headed the Swedish bid that lost the vote for the 2002 Winter Olympics said Thursday that Salt Lake City organizers should reimburse the expenses of rival cities if it were confirmed that their bidding committee bribed members of the International Olympic Committee.

"In some ways, we spent our money in vain," said Christer Persson, the president of the bidding committee from the city of Ostersund.

Persson said stripping the Olympics from Salt Lake City was impractical: The IOC already had ruled it out. But he said a fine that would compensate the three other 2002 finalists—Sion, Switzerland; Quebec City and Ostersund—would be an appropriate punishment for the scholarship fund that benefited at least six relatives of IOC members.

"If Salt Lake is to be sanctioned in any way by the IOC, I would suggest them paying the bid funds back," he said. Persson said Ostersund spent about \$2 million in its bid. He said Sion spent about \$3.5 million and Quebec City \$8 million.

Persson said he was surprised to learn that his once-friendly rivals had resorted to the scholarship fund.

"It's something like I thought I was racing against Carl Lewis and now I figured out it was Ben Johnson," Persson said. "That was a surprise to everybody, but I'm quite sure Ostersund would never have won in any case because Salt Lake was the best candidate for the Winter Olympics in history. They deserved to win. It's sad there is this component in their victory now."

Persson spent 12 years bidding against Salt Lake City as part of the Ostersund bids that failed to win the 1994, 1998 and 2002 Games.

"I think they were afraid not to use this possibility," Persson said of the scholarship fund. "And I think they felt that if they didn't use it, someone else would."

While the chief of Quebec City's bid, Rene Paquet, has said he was approached by an agent offering IOC votes for a price, Persson said he never heard of such offers until Marc Hodler, an IOC member, publicly railed against "blackmailing" agents Saturday. "In

Paris Unveils Bid for 2008 Summer Olympics

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

PARIS—Paris joined the bidding for the 2008 Summer Olympic Games on Thursday. Jean Tiberi, mayor of the French capital, made the official announcement after the news was leaked at the Asian Games in Bangkok. "We have the ambition and the means," Tiberi said. "Paris, even if it bothers me to talk like this about this city, in terms of marketing is a very good product."

Tiberi named Philippe Bourguignon, owner of the Club Med terrace tourism organization and a sports enthusiast, as president of the bidding committee.

The Seattle Olympic Bid Committee, formed to seek the 2012 Summer Games, withdrew its candidacy and disbanded Thursday for lack of civic support. The city council on Monday reiterated that it would not support a bid. (AP, Reuters)

12 years. I never got any requests or saw any indications that anybody was asking for money to deliver votes," he said.

Persson said he had heard rumors of rule-breaking, but the only evidence he saw was gifts from bidding cities to IOC members that exceeded the \$150 limit per member. "But these things are just souvenirs, and you never get the vote for the souvenirs you give," he said.

Persson, whose city is not bidding for the 2006 Games, said he would support Hodler's call to have the IOC executive board, instead of the entire IOC membership, vote for host cities.

"The international football federation and athletics federation already do that," he said. "It costs a lot of money and time to meet 114 IOC members. But I'm not sure the IOC will vote for the idea because it's nice for them to travel around the world, and they are not paid in any way to do their job. But if they keep increasing the number of members, one day the number will be too big to keep the current system. It was 95 when we bid and now it's 114."

Gunilla Lindberg, a Swedish IOC member, said it was possible to confuse a genuine service offered by agents with corruption.

"I don't understand when Marc Hodler talks about agents," Lindberg said. "You have a lot of international consultants, and an international consultant for me is a person who advises you and knows the members and what they like and don't like and how Asians and Africans react. These consultants have been working for many years."

"It's up to the city to buy their services or not, but from that to the other

thing that Mr. Hodler is talking about is a long way. I hope he knows the difference. That's why I'm waiting for the names of the agents and the proof of selling votes."

The Associated Press reported from London that Goran Takac, an agent who fears he may be thought to meet Hodler's description, on Thursday denied any wrongdoing.

Hodler alleged that four "agents" had been demanding payment to secure votes for cities bidding for the Olympics. Hodler said the "most tested agent" lived in Lausanne.

Takac, a marketing agent, is based in Lausanne and has worked on Olympic bids for more than 20 years. His father, Arthur, is an IOC adviser.

"In the last two days, my name has been mentioned a lot," Goran Takac said. "We feel we have to react. We have to clean our name. We are completely ready to cooperate, to open all our files, to show exactly what we were doing."

Query Over Tax Forms

Tax forms filed by Salt Lake's Olympic organizers do not include entries for the scholarship program, The Associated Press reported from Salt Lake City.

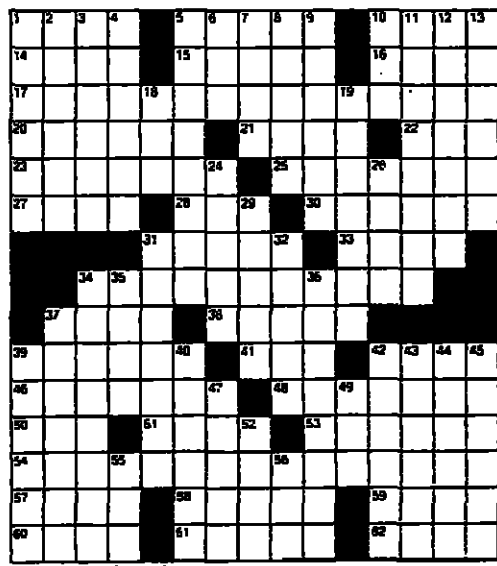
Salt Lake Organizing Committee officials have said \$400,000 in scholarships was paid to 13 students, including six relatives of IOC members.

The documents were obtained by a local radio station. In each fiscal year between 1991 to 1997, the question "Does the organization make grants for scholarships, fellowships, student loans, etc.," is answered "No."

CROSSWORD

ACROSS

- 1 What to do
- 5 Singer Joplin
- 10 Plant for burp
- 14 One of the Ringling brothers
- 15 Lose ground
- 16 Something to think about
- 17 "Oliver Twist" character
- 20 Test site for an aquanaut
- 21 Detached
- 22 Command for D.E.
- 23 Like a wuss
- 25 Was terrified by
- 27 Is worthwhile
- 28 Broadcast init.
- 30 Mouth-watering
- 31 Prison guard, in slang
- 33 Saturn or Mars
- 34 Feature of 17- and 54-Across, literally
- 37 Hunk
- 38 Mattress maker
- 39 Train to box?
- 41 Critenon, Abbr.
- 42 New York Shakespeare Festival founder
- 46 Journey of self-purposion?
- 48 U.N. intervention site
- 50 What's more
- 51 "A Girl Like I" specification
- 52 Where you pay to play
- 54 Phrase of sympathy
- 57 "..." saw Elba
- 58 Made level
- 59 Size up
- 60 Carpenter's groove
- 61 Texas leaguer?
- 62 River to the North Sea
- 18 Ruled
- 19 Vitamin
- 24 Costly W.W.I. battleground
- 26 Allego
- 28 Elame
- 29 "Seinfeld" role!
- 31 In the manner of a judge
- 32 "..." new?
- 34 Cherry-colored
- 35 Deliver a trade
- 36 Get-rich-quick place
- 37 Madame in Roma
- 39 Took for the summer, maybe
- 40 He played Sinatra in "The Rat Pack"
- 42 Cream puff, maybe
- 43 Warm welcomes
- 44 Gilbert and Sullivan extra
- 45 Spiel
- 47 Standard's partner
- 48 Place for an lie
- 52 Barred
- 55 Omnicore e.g.
- 56 Always



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SPORTS

Italian Soccer Body To Be Investigated

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches
ROME — Luciano Nizzola, the president of the Italian soccer federation, was notified Thursday that he is under investigation in the probe into possible drug abuse in Italian soccer.

Rome prosecutors are looking into whether Nizzola hid positive drug tests to help clubs or players.

"It is very possible that some error might have been committed by a functionary," Nizzola told reporters. "The federation certainly does not have any interest in making mistakes or protecting anybody. If there was an error, it was certainly in good faith."

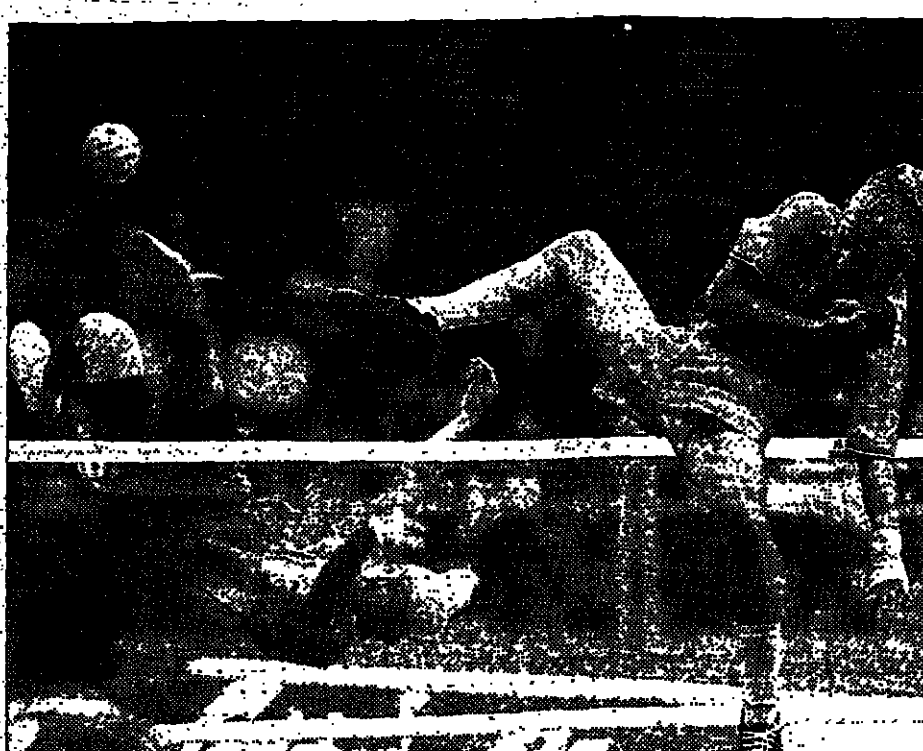
Sampdoria's coach, named David Platt as coach Thursday, making the former England captain the youngest bench boss in Serie A.

near the bottom of the league. Technically, Platt will not have the title of "coach" because he does not have the necessary permit from the Italian federation. Giorgio Veneri, a veteran of Italy's lower divisions, will be Platt's assistant.

ENGLAND NTL, a U.S. cable company, said Thursday it had taken a 6.3 percent stake in Newcastle United and could take over the Premier League club. NTL said Cameron Hall Developments, which owns 30.8 percent of the club, had accepted an offer for its stake valuing the club at \$160 million (\$269 million).

Barclay Knapp, NTL's chief executive, said the bid would go through if competition authorities cleared a \$1 billion by Rupert Murdoch's BSkyB for Manchester United.

(AP, AFP, Reuters)



Poonsak Rukwongrit, of Thailand, left, trying to kick the ball past Zabihi Sharif, of Malaysia in the sepak takraw final. The Thais won, 15-3, 15-8. The Southeast Asian sport resembles volleyball, but competitors may not use their hands.

China Passes 100 Golds

But It Says Someone Tried to Bribe Its Athletes

The Associated Press
BANGKOK — As China passed the 100 gold medal mark at the Asian Games on Thursday, one of its team leaders said Chinese athletes had been offered bribes to lose in gold medal matches.

Li Fulong, deputy head of China's Asian Games delegation, gave no names or other details, but said there had been more than one

That boxers won the first three of the first six boxing golds. Another six will be decided Friday, with two more Thais on the card.

The Thais won a silver and a gold in tennis. Yuyuk Basuki of Indonesia beat the top seed, Tamarine Tanasugarn, of Thailand, 6-4, 6-2, in the women's singles final. Brothers Paradorn and Narathorn Srichaphan beat South Korea's Lee Hyung Taik and Yoon Yong Il, 6-3, 7-6 (7-5), for the men's doubles gold.

On the track, Japanese sprinter Koji Ho moved toward adding the men's 200 meters to his previous golds in the 100 and the sprint relay. Li Xuemei of China did likewise, qualifying for the women's final. Ho was fastest in the men's semifinal, in 20.41 seconds. Li was second in her semifinal behind Damayanthi Darsha, Sri Lanka's 400-meter gold medalist.

Lee Jin Il edged South Korean compatriot Kim Soon Hyung by .05 second for the men's gold at 800 meters, completing a comeback from a drugs ban imposed after he had won the race at the 1994 games. Lee maintains he took the anabolic agent in cough medicine.

India's Jyotirmoy Sikkhar added the women's 800 meters title to her gold at 1,500 meters, finishing well ahead of teammate Rosa Kutty.

ASIAN GAMES

case. Ahmad Sabah, the president of the Olympic Council of Asia, said that if the Chinese do provide names, the OCA will order an investigation. Another Chinese official said a table tennis player was approached, but was unable to identify the Chinese-speaking person who made the offer.

Meanwhile, China kept collecting gold, winning six Thursday — two each in track and badminton, one in wushu and one for a 1-0 triumph in women's soccer, on Fan Yunjie's golden goal in the second half of extra time against North Korea. China has 102 golds.

South Korea won eight golds to take its total to 59. Japan won five and has 48.

SCOREBOARD

ASIAN GAMES

THURSDAY IN BANGKOK, THAILAND

WOMEN'S TEAM

Gold — South Korea def. China 242-238, 24-19, 15-11.

WOMEN'S INDIVIDUAL

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WOMEN'S DOUBLES

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POSTCARD

Staying Together

By Kathryn Shattuck
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Ruby Dee and Ossie Davis were admiring an enormous poinsettia, its vibrant red leaves shooting out into all four corners of an otherwise coolly subdued living room.

The plant — "the largest, most beautiful, most expensive we could find," Dee said — was a gift from the couple to each other on Dec. 9, the day of their 50th wedding anniversary. It will be the only gift they exchange this year, a symbol for the only gift they need at this juncture of their lives: each other.

That's not to say the event has gone unheralded. In November the couple published a memoir, "With Ossie and Ruby: In This Life Together," an assessment of their experiences together and apart. Tuesday night they celebrated with a benefit at the Grand Hyatt Hotel in Manhattan to raise money for 12 regional theaters like the ones in which they got their start. "We're giving back," said Dee, who is 74.

And Wednesday night they joined the drummer Max Roach in "Theater Pieces," an evening of poetry, prose and music that is part of "Max Roach's America," a three-concert series at the 92d Street Y.

The son of a self-educated railroad construction engineer, Davis was raised in rural Georgia, eventually leaving the countryside to live with his grandmother in Waycross, a larger town, so that he could receive a better education. After graduating from Howard University in Washington, he traveled to New York, where he began his acting ca-

reer with the Rose McClen-don Players in the basement of the 124th Street Library in Harlem while taking drama classes at Columbia.

The daughter of a waiter on the Pennsylvania Railroad, Dee graduated from Hunter College and went to work with the American Negro Theater, in the basement of the 135th Street Library, now known as the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture.

Though they insist their paths surely must have crossed in the years they traversed the neighborhood, the couple met in 1945 when they were both cast in the Broadway production of "Jeb" at the Martin Beck Theater; he as the male lead, she as the understudy to the female lead, a role she eventually took on. They recall having felt as if they had always known each other. They married three years later.

By all accounts, the marriage has been a good one, producing three children, seven grandchildren, two successful careers and an unflinching activism for causes social and civil. Agreeing to disagree, they say, was often the key to surviving. They are frank in their discussion of marriage, even on the topic of infidelity, which has crept into their safe haven.

The marriage, their memoirs, their oral history, all are a part of a broader picture that Dee and Davis believe will serve future generations.

"Just staying together is not a real virtue, if you're not happy," she said. "Or you're being denied. Or one person is being squashed. Or you really don't love each other; you're just there out of habit. That doesn't work, no matter how many years you stay together."

By Alan Riding
New York Times Service

A 'Peony Pavilion' for the Post-Modern Set

PARIS — The Autumn Festival in Paris had the clever idea of offering two contrasting productions of "The Peony Pavilion" to celebrate the 400th anniversary of Tang Xianzu's classic Chinese opera.

But the Shanghai Kunqu Opera Company's complete 20-hour version, originally scheduled to open this summer's Lincoln Center Festival in New York, was again banned from leaving China as too "feudal" and "pornographic." So Peter Sellars's three-hour avant-garde version has had the stage to itself here.

It has left those unfamiliar with kunqu opera (let's face it, most Westerners) with the task of evaluating the experimental without the standard of the traditional.

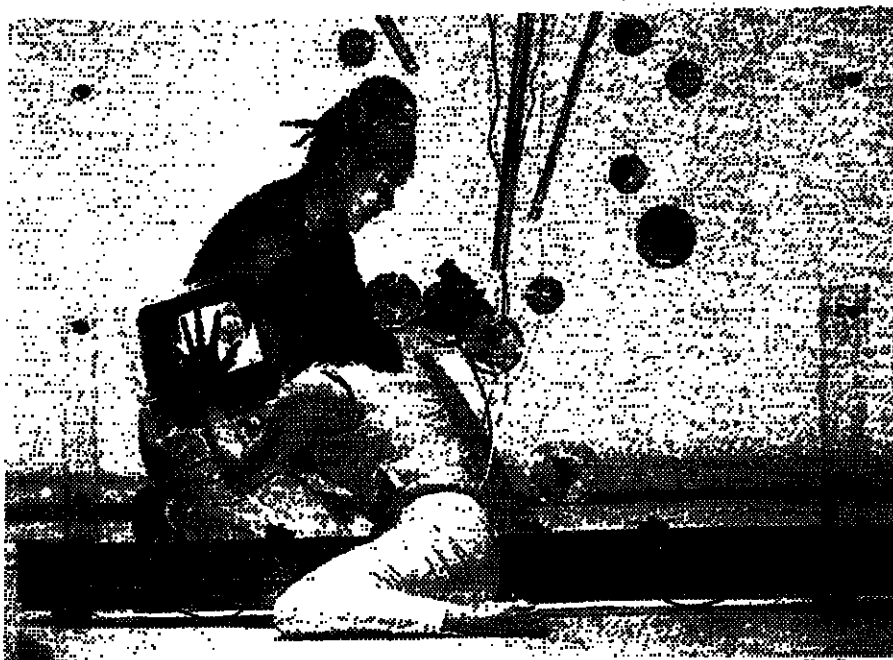
As it is, audiences at the Bobigny cultural center near Paris are inevitably left guessing how much of Sellars's "Peony Pavilion" is original kunqu and how much has been added to reach out to Westerners. For all that, it still looks and sounds pretty Chinese, though not exactly 400 years old.

Indeed, in a sense, Sellars has brought Tang Xianzu's 55-act masterpiece closer to the China of today. Chinese opera never recovered from the censorship and dismantling of theater companies that accompanied Mao Zedong's Cultural Revolution, and its survival is now threatened by the growing popularity of Western music, movies and television.

So it is conceivable that Sellars's Westernized homage to traditional Chinese culture would appeal more to many young Chinese than the original. This theory may even be tested if, as the 41-year-old American director hopes, the production travels to China in 2000.

The essence of the story, a sort of "Romeo and Juliet" in reverse, remains intact in this version.

Du Linjiang, a 16-year-old girl from a powerful family, dreams of a young scholar who makes love to her. When she awakens, she is so saddened not to find him that she starves herself to death, leaving a self-portrait on her tomb. Three years later, the scholar, Liu Mengmei, falls for the painted image just as Du's ghost appears. They become lovers and, although Du reveals that she is dead, Liu succeeds in bringing her back to life.



Lauren Tom, foreground, and Joel de la Fuente in "The Peony Pavilion."

Sellars's point of departure could not have been more authentic.

In 1990, while directing the Los Angeles Festival, he met Hua Wenyi, a veteran Chinese actress trained in the tradition of kunqu (pronounced kun-SHOO) and practiced in playing the role of Du, who had just moved to California. "Here was this living national treasure whose art form no one in the West knew how to read," he said. "So the big question for me was, how could we in the West begin to realize what she does?"

As it happens, Hua, a former artistic director of the Shanghai Kunqu Opera Company who is now in her 50s, was also interested in trying something new. "She became the driving force," the director recalled. "She didn't want to go back to tradition. She wanted tradition to take its next steps into the future."

The project took almost a decade to come to fruition as Sellars organized seminars and workshops to help him come to grips with the kunqu tradition. For the text, he chose a translation by Cyril Birch, 73, an English-born Chinese scholar who moved to the University of California at Berkeley in 1960.

For the music, he turned to Tan Dun, 41, an avant-garde composer who was born in China and now lives in New York. Asked to provide incidental music, Tan delivered a two-hour opera, the first half comprising kunqu melodies, the second half a rousing blend of kunqu, Tibetan and Western chants, instruments and rhythms.

"With the addition of a different generation of Chinese artist, we began to get a rather rich picture," Sellars said. "What's quite interesting is that Hua Wenyi and Tan Dun would never have met in China because Hua Wenyi was at the highest level of official culture and Tan Dun was a young artist whose work was officially discouraged."

George Tsypin, who has designed many of Sellars's operatic productions, most recently Messiaen's "St. Francois d'Assise," placed this version well in the 20th century by creating a large, transparent rectangular box that serves as both bed and watery grave for Du as well as transparent screens with television monitors trapped inside them. These and other monitors carry images captured by camcorders held by Du and Liu.

But perhaps the greatest innovation in the production, which has already been

seen in Vienna, London and Rome and will travel to Berkeley in March, is that Du and Liu are each represented simultaneously first by two, then by three performers. In China, where the kunqu tradition embraces acting, dancing and singing, this would not be necessary. Yet here, *force majeure*, Hua could not play a 16-year-old girl, nor does she speak English — created a fascinating counterpoint of cultures and generations.

Two young Asian-Americans — Lauren Tom, of Chinese descent, and Joel de la Fuente, of Filipino extraction — play the English-speaking roles of Du and Liu. (At times the mixture of colloquial and poetic language jars.) Hua dances and sings the role of Du in the kunqu fashion, but in Paris she has been joined by Michael Schimacher, an American who dances the role of Liu in the experimental disjointed style of William Forsythe's Frankfurt Ballet. Their silent dance of love is perhaps the emotional high point of the first act.

"It was marvelous," Sellars said excitedly of this addition to the evolving production, which runs in Paris through Dec. 22. "Hua Wenyi really wanted to meet a kind of cutting-edge dance world where her sense of refinement of movement could meet a language that is equally artificial and refined."

In the second act, the two couples are joined by a fresh Du and Liu, in this case a soprano (Nancy Allen Lundy and Ying Huang alternate as Du) and a tenor (Michael Hart-Davis and Lin Qiang Xu alternate as Liu) whose passionate arias mirror the narrative as the two lovers finally meet. If these operatic voices sound more Western, though, kunqu is still present in the singing of the priestess Sister Siode, played by Shi Jiehua.

Sellars sees topicality in the play's treatment of teenage suicide and its endorsement of idealistic dreams, yet on-stage what speaks loudest, in the director's words, is the "genuine cultural discussion."

"You have Lauren Tom, who was born in Chicago and does not speak a word of Chinese, trying to make contact with Hua Wenyi, the most famous living Chinese actress, who now lives in Los Angeles and doesn't speak English," he said. "For Lauren Tom, it means recovering part of her heritage that she never knew, and for Hua Wenyi, it means moving forward into her new life as an American."

PEOPLE

THE New York Film Critics Circle on Thursday chose Steven Spielberg's World War II movie, "Saving Private Ryan," as best film of 1998. "The Thin Red Line," the year's other World War II film, was another winner, for both John Toll's cinematography and for direction by Terrence Malick. Nick Nolte won the circle's best actor award for his performance in "Affliction," and Cameron Diaz was voted best actress for "There's Something About Mary." As best foreign film, group members chose the Danish film "The Celebration." "Shakespeare in Love" and "The Truman Show" each got six Golden Globe nominations from the Hollywood Foreign Press Association, and "Saving Private Ryan" got five. "Bulworth," "Elizabeth," "Gods and Monsters" and "Little Voice" got three nominations each.

A French appeals court ruled Thursday that Yves Montand was not the father of Aureo Drossart, who claims to be his daughter. The court relied on a

DNA test that was carried out on the singer's corpse. The singer and actor had always denied that Drossart, 24, was his daughter and refused to undergo DNA tests.

The British businessman Richard Branson, the Swede Per Lindstrand and the American Steve Fossett are in

Marrakesh, Morocco, to set off on a new attempt to circle the globe by balloon. The three men hope to leave Friday and circle the globe in less than 18 days before landing in Britain.

A screenwriter says in a lawsuit against Walt Disney Co. that he was promised a cut of merchandising from

the three "Mighty Ducks" movies and hasn't received a cent. Steven Brill, who wrote the movies starring Emilio Estevez as the reluctant coach for an underdog youth hockey team, said his contract entitled him to 5 percent of gross merchandising revenues. The lawsuit filed in Los Angeles seeks \$25 million for revenue earned since 1993, plus any future merchandising earnings. Brill's lawyer said.

What are the top holiday season songs in the United States? According to Marilyn Bergman, president and chairman of the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers, the most performed song is "White Christmas," by Irving Berlin. Next, in order, are "Santa Claus Is Comin' to Town," by J. Fred Coots and Haven Gillespie; "The Christmas Song (Chestnuts Roasting on an Open Fire)," by Mel Tormé and Robert Wells; "Winter Wonderland," by Felix Bernard and Richard Smith, and "Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer," by Johnny Marks.



Lindstrand, left, Branson and Fossett in front of their balloon.



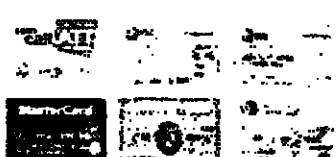
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